

TWO TRACTS.

ON THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS:

623. f. 12.
3

I.

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

GREEK ACCENTS:

By the late EDWARD SPELMAN, Esq.

II.

THE VOYAGE OF ÆNEAS

FROM

TROY TO ITALY:

By the Rev. Mr. LEMON,

Master of the Free School in NORWICH.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. NOURSE, Bookseller to His MAJESTY.

M.DCC.LXXIII.

E R R A T A.

A C C E N T S.

Page. Line.

- 9 last but three, for *a Consul* read *Consul*.
10 12, 13, for $\Delta\iota\kappa[\acute{\alpha}]\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$, etc. read $\Delta\iota\kappa[\acute{\alpha}]\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$, etc.
17 12, for *destroyt his* read *destroy this*.

V O Y A G E.

Introduction, p. v, l. 2, for *Idoms* read *Idioms*.

Page. Line.

- 38 last but one, for *Brundufium* read *Brundisium*.
39 last, for *bends in an arch* read *in a curve*.
62 21, for *land* read *establishment*.

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

GREEK ACCENTS:

Intended as a SUPPLEMENT to what has been already said
on that Subject, in the PREFACE to the

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

OF

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

By the late EDWARD SPELMAN, Esq.

Published by the Rev. Mr. LEMON, Master of the Free-
School in NORWICH.

Is sane erit mihi Magnus Apollo, quisquis antiquam illam
et genuinam *προσφθισαν* restituerit. — Quolibet, inquires,
in vocabulo propriam quandam sedem habet Accentus :
habeat sane ; —at Qualem ? et quibus legibus definitam ?
Quid ? *Ἀνθρώποι, Ἀνθρώπων*, etc. Ecquis eâdem in voce
talem pronuntiationis discordiam tolerari potuisse credide-
rit, et, ubi par utriusque est ratio, talem *ανωμαλιαν* ;—

Dr. BURTON, de Accentibus, p. 42.

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS

CREEK ACCOUNTS

ROMAN HISTORY

ROMAN HISTORY

ROMAN HISTORY

ROMAN HISTORY

ROMAN HISTORY

ROMAN HISTORY

ROMAN HISTORY

ROMAN HISTORY

A
and
to

T O

THE RIGHT REVEREND

P H I L I P

Lord BISHOP of NORWICH.

MY LORD,

ABOUT two months before the death
of my late learned and worthy friend
and patron, Mr. SPELMAN, he was pleased
to present me with the following *Additional*

A 3

Ob-

vi D E D I C A T I O N.

Observations on the Greek Accents; which however he intended should be published in his own name, and which were designed to have been added as a Supplement to what he had written upon that subject, in the Preface to his Translation of the *Roman Antiquities of Dionysius Halicarnassensis*.

I can honestly assure your Lordship, that what is now offered to your perusal was dictated by *himself*: —But indeed it is unnecessary to be strenuous in such an assertion; the Spirit and Vigor, which so evidently breathe through these Additional Observations, plainly bespeak the Man; and answer exactly to that vivacity, which always enlivened his Writings and Conversation.

The abilities of Mr. SPELMAN as an Author are sufficiently established; the Literary world having in several instances expressed their regard for his works: His Translations from the Greek Language have acquired him a lasting name; and with respect to this present performance, the Public, it
is

DEDICATION. vii

is to be hoped, will receive it with the same candour they have shewn to the rest of his productions: Nay indeed they may perhaps receive it with a greater indulgence, since this is a posthumous offspring; and on that account claims, if possible, a kinder reception: This I make no doubt it will obtain, as it is ushered into the world under your Lordship's patronage and protection; for, whatever a person of your Lordship's known abilities and judgement shall be pleased to patronize, there is the greatest confidence to expect, will be approved and accepted likewise by every lover of learning, and learned men.

It may however seem a wonder to your Lordship, that this little work has not interceded for your Lordship's protection before now; particularly since more than Five years have elapsed from the time of its author's decease, to this present application: This long interval requires to be accounted for; and this is the reason:

At

viii D E D I C A T I O N.

At Mr. Spelman's death, I had not the honour to be personally known to your Lordship; and therefore was obliged to apply to some other learned person, who might patronize this little work, for the sake of its author; and it was some time before I addressed myself to the late learned Dr. Gregory Sharpe, Master of the Temple; a gentleman, for whose literary merit and friendship Mr. Spelman always expressed a very high opinion and regard; but to whom I was not otherwise known, than by letters, in Mr. Spelman's life-time.

Having acquainted the Doctor with my situation, he very obligingly gave me leave to dedicate this pamphlet to him; and about a twelvemonth before he died, he told me, that he would certainly publish it for me: But many avocations interrupted that design; and particularly a closer attention to his own publications was no doubt the reason of his having deferred the consideration of this minute trifle: Whatever cause it might have been ascribed to by the Doctor

DEDICATION. ix

tor that he postponed it so long, I know not ; but Death itself at last deprived him of an opportunity of completing his promise.

As soon as I could with any decency, I applied to Mr. Maitland, the Doctor's executor, for my manuscript ; and he has in the most obliging manner returned it again into my possession.

Deprived thus, my Lord, both of its Author, and its Patron, this posthumous performance once more became destitute of a Friend ; and was constrained to seek again for the protection of some one worthy name : In this consideration then I shall ever think myself happy, and hold the highest sense of gratitude to the goodness of Providence, which has established and settled me at last within the influence of your Lordship's view ; and fixed me within so small a distance of your Lordship's residence.

It is under the sanction of your Lordship's name alone then, which you have so kindly lent me, that I can hope the Public
will

x D E D I C A T I O N.

will be pleased to accept of this work from so obscure a person as myself; and it is on the support of your Lordship's recommendation alone, that the acceptance of it must entirely depend; and what Livy says in the Introduction to his History is very applicable to my own situation at this juncture; — *Si in tantâ Scriptorum turbâ mea fama in obscuro sit, Nobilitate et Magnitudine eorum, meo qui nomini officient, me consoler.*

I do not, my Lord, because I dare not, take upon me to maintain that side of the question, which is everywhere asserted throughout the following Observations: Whatever objections therefore may occur among any of those learned gentlemen into whose hands they may fall, I hope they will not call upon me to support them: Let me not then be drawn into such a controversy; which I must acknowledge is a subject far above the flight of my slender pinions to attempt, and far beyond the reach of my small abilities to defend: I have performed nothing more than the part of an Editor; and desire therefore to be looked upon in no other

D E D I C A T I O N. xi

other light ; and in that light only I would address myself to those learned gentlemen who may differ in opinion from the Author of this work, in the words of Polydore, Æn. III. v. 41.

— — — — — *jam parce sepulto,*
Parce pias scelerare manus : non me tibi Troja
Externum tulit : haud cruor hic de stipite manat :
Heu fuge crudeles terras, fuge litus avarum ;
Nam Polydorus ego.

All that I am engaged for is, to deliver with fidelity these few remains of my learned and judicious Friend through your Lordship's hands to the world ; which when I have done, I claim no other merit in making them public, than that of having faithfully discharged the trust reposed in me ; and am glad of the opportunity they hereby afford me of paying that duty to Mr. Spelman, which I shall ever be ready to acknowledge I owed to him living, and now shew to his memory dead : And when this duty is conscientiously discharged, I would truly say with Virgil,

His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
Munere.

Let

x D E D I C A T I O N.

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DEDICATION. xi

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Munere.

Let

xii D E D I C A T I O N.

Let not this however be the only satisfaction, which may accrue to me in the performance of this office; let me at the same time embrace the opportunity it affords me of recommending myself once more to your Lordship's notice and protection; and of testifying in this open manner, how much I am indebted to your Lordship's indulgence; and with how much respect I subscribe myself,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most Obedient,

Most devoted,

and

Most humble Servant;

Norwich,

1773.

GEO. W^m. LEMON.

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
GREEK ACCENTS.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION.

AS I observe that the controversy concerning the Greek Accents has been revived since the publication of my Translation of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, and even extended to the propriety, or impropriety of printing the Greek Authors with, or without Accents; I shall not only resume what I have already said in my Preface upon both those subjects; but also add some more Arguments to those I have there made use of, in order to shew the absurdity both of our modern Greek Accents, and of the use we make of them, in disfiguring the simplicity of the most antient Greek Authors, by printing their works with such fopperies, as it is allowed on both sides they were utterly unacquainted with: In doing this, I shall adhere to the same maxim I laid down in

B

my

my Preface, which was, that I would not knowingly employ any arguments made use of by my predecessors in this controversy.

I have said in my Preface, (page xxxii) that

“ The reader may very well expect that I

“ should give a reason for my not having accent-

“ ed the Greek in my Notes and Dissertations :

“ This will naturally lead to a question, which

“ has been long since discussed by men of great

“ learning both in our own nation, and in

“ others : Most of them I have read ; and chuse

“ rather to refer my readers to them, than to

“ repeat what they have said : To avoid which,

“ I shall lay before the reader only two argu-

“ ments, which I have not met with in any

“ of those authors, and which convince me,

“ though I myself was taught otherwise, that

“ Greek Prose ought to be read, like Verse, ac-

“ cording to the quantity, without any regard

“ to the Accents. It is left to those, who do

“ me the honour to read this, to determine

“ whether my conviction is well, or ill founded.

“ The first of these arguments will, I think,

“ shew that the design of Accents was not to

“ transform Long syllables into Short, and Short

“ syllables into Long ; and consequently, as I

“ said, that we ought to read Greek Prose ac-

“ cording to the Quantity, without suffering this

“ to be destroyed by the Accents.

“ I could prove the proposition I have ad-

“ vanced by many passages, taken from our

“ author's treatise *Concerning the Composition of*

“ *Words* ; but I shall content myself with one

“ of them, which by its simplicity will be in-

“ telligible,

“ telligible, and consequently conclusive: The
 “ passage I mean is quoted by him from Plato ¹
 “ to shew what kind of composition constitutes
 “ dignity, and from what Feet, or Metre, it is
 “ derived: This passage is taken from his *Επι-*
 “ *λαφιος λογος*, and is as follows: *Εργω μεν ἡμιν*
 “ *οἶδ' εχθροὶ τα προσήκοῦτα σφισιν αὐτοῖς ὧν τυ-*
 “ *χοντες, πορεύονται τὴν εἰμαρμένην πορείαν.*

“ I shall make use of no more than the last
 “ member of this period, which I believe will
 “ be sufficient to prove all that I propose.

“ If we read this according to the Accents,
 “ it must be pronounced thus, ὧν τυχόν̄ τες πό-
 “ ρεύον̄ται τὴν εἰμαρμένην̄ πορείαν̄. Here the pe-
 “ nultima of *πόρεύονται*, from being long, is by
 “ the Accent made short; and the penultima of
 “ *εἰμαρμένην*, from being short, is made long:
 “ But I shall now shew that the first ought to
 “ be read, as it is, long; and the last, as it is,
 “ short.

“ Dionysius, in scanning this member of that
 “ period, says that the first and second feet of it
 “ ὧν τυχόν̄ | ιες πόρεῦ | are cretics: That the two
 “ following, ὄν̄ται | τὴν εἰ | are spondees: Then
 “ another cretic, μαρμένην̄. | And the last a
 “ hypobacchius *πορείαν̄*. |

“ Now it is plain that if we read this accord-
 “ ing to the Accents, the first of the two spon-
 “ dees will be an iambic, ὄν̄ται: And *μαρμένην̄*
 “ will not be a cretic, but a molossus: This
 “ confusion of long and short syllables will be
 “ avoided, if we can but persuade ourselves

¹ *Περὶ Συνθεσ. Ορομαλ. c. 18.*

“ that

“ that Dionysius knew how to pronounce, and
 “ scann, his own language.

“ The patrons of Accents do indeed allow
 “ that there are verses intermixed with prose;
 “ as our author has shewn² there are many in
 “ Demosthenes of several sorts, which, he says,
 “ were the effects of choice, not of accident,
 “ and designed to render his style melodious:
 “ How then are we to read these verses? Are
 “ we to read them, like the context, according
 “ to the Accents? — In that case, they will
 “ cease to be verses. Or, must we not read
 “ both them, and the context, according to the
 “ Quantity; which alone can prevent them from
 “ distinguishing themselves too much, and from
 “ interrupting that harmony of style, which
 “ they were designed to promote?

“ The other argument is this: Aristotle says³,
 “ that Iambic verse is the very language of the
 “ commonalty: For which reason they made use
 “ of Iambics, more than of any other verses, in
 “ conversation: ὁ δὲ Ιαμβος αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἡ λέξις ἡ
 “ τῶν πολλῶν· διὸ μαλιστα πάντων τῶν μετρώων
 “ Ιαμβεῖα φησὶ γινώσκειν λεγόντες.

“ If then Iambics were the language of the
 “ commonalty, the language of the common-
 “ alty must be pronounced like Iambics; but
 “ the patrons of Accents allow that Iambics
 “ must be pronounced according to the Quanti-
 “ ty; therefore the language of the common-
 “ alty must be pronounced according to the
 “ Quantity.

² Περὶ Συγθεσ. Ονομαζ. c. 25:

³ Ρητορικ. B. iii. c. 8.

“ I have

“ I have not the least suspicion of any argument that can be opposed to this ; though
 “ I am sensible that prejudices are great logicians, and will find cavils, where reasons
 “ are wanting : And here indolence comes to their assistance ; and both master and scholar
 “ are concerned in adhering to the old method of reading Greek according to the Accents ;
 “ for a boy may be taught to read that language tolerably well according to the Accents in a very few months, when as many
 “ years will be necessary to enable him to read it according to the Quantity ; which is a
 “ knowledge the master himself must be well acquainted with, unless he has a mind the saying of Petronius should be applied to him,
 “ *Plus docet quam scit.*

“ The difficulty of reading Greek according to the Quantity is occasioned by the Three
 “ common or doubtful vowels, α , ι , υ , which though called by that name, are all of them
 “ always long in some words, and always short in others : This distinction is to be acquired
 “ by a long conversation with the Greek poets ; for no Profodies, that I have seen, will teach it.
 “ From this laborious task they are freed by the Accents, which present them with a language
 “ unknown either to the Antients, or Moderns, a language without Quantity.

“ To what purpose then, will it be said, were the Greek Accents introduced, if no regard
 “ is to be paid to them in pronouncing that language ? To this I answer, that they were
 “ designed to mark the elevation and depression

“ of the voice ⁴; but not to interfere with the
 “ Quantity. And that the antient Greeks had
 “ Accents, (contrary to the opinion of many
 “ learned men) and also a name for those
 “ Accents, will appear beyond contradiction by
 “ a passage in Strabo ⁵; where, in speaking of the
 “ Ilienses, he says that the Palladium, which was
 “ shewn by them in his time, was in a standing
 “ posture; but That, mentioned by Homer,
 “ sitting; which he proves by this passage in
 “ that poet,

Θείναι Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ———.

Iliad, Z. v. 92.

“ To this argument, he says, the Ilienses gave
 “ an idle answer, alledging that the Accent,
 “ which he calls *προσῳδία*, in *γούνασιν*, ought
 “ to be transferred from the antepenultima to
 “ the penultima; and then *ἐπὶ γούνασιν* will
 “ signify *ἐπὶ ἰκἐηπριαίς*.

“ And here it will be worth observing that
 “ the transferring of the Accent, here con-
 “ tended for by the Ilienses, could transfer only
 “ the elevation of the voice, not the emphasis,
 “ or the Quantity; otherwise the metre would
 “ not have been preserved; as the reader will
 “ see, when the whole verse is laid before him:

Θείναι Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ | γούνασιν | ἦν καὶ μοῖο.

Θείναι Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ | γούνασιν | ἦν καὶ μοῖο.

⁴ Priscian. B. xv. Diomed. B. ii.

⁵ Book xiii. p. 897. Edit. of Casaub.

“ The

“ The προσωδιαι of the Greeks were called
 “ by the antient Latin authors⁶, *Notæ vocum*,
 “ *Moderamenta*, *Accentuunculæ*, and *Voculationes*.

“ These passages sufficiently prove the anti-
 “ quity of Accents: but, as the moderns have
 “ for many ages made an ill use of them, and
 “ employed them to confound the Quantity, in-
 “ stead of directing the elevation and depression
 “ of the voice, for which they were originally
 “ designed ; and, as this last application of the
 “ Accents is irrecoverably lost, I cannot see
 “ to what purpose they should be retained ;
 “ particularly since those, who read Greek ac-
 “ cording to the Accents, are always misled,
 “ and those who read it according to the Quan-
 “ tity, often ensnared by them.”

Thus much I had asserted in my Preface; and
 shall now farther observe upon this subject, that
 We may, in my opinion, receive the fullest con-
 viction that the Greeks pronounced their lan-
 guage according to the Quantity, from the
 manner in which the Greek historians, who
 treat of the Roman affairs, always write the Pro-
 per names of the Romans themselves ; which
 names they never accent, if they did accent
 them, according to the rules of the Greek Ac-
 centuation ; and yet most certainly designed
 that their Greek readers should pronounce them,
 as the Romans pronounced them in their own
 language ; that is, according to the Quantity,
 not the Accent.

Thus, when Dionysius writ Ταρχυνίω, Μαρ-

⁶ Aul. Gell. Book xiii. c. 6.

κίω, Τυλλίω : and numberless other Proper names in the same manner, he designed that even his Greek readers should pronounce them, as he knew the Romans themselves pronounced them, *Tarquinio*, *Marcio*, *Tullio*, according to the Quantity ; and not *Tarquinio*, *Marcio*, *Tullio*, according to the Accent.

The same thing may be observed in Herodian, Dion Cassius, and many other Greek writers. As for example, when Herodian writ Περσινᾶκος, Περσινᾶκι, Περσινᾶκα, he designed his Greek readers should pronounce the name of this Emperor Περσινᾶκος, Περσινᾶκι, Περσινᾶκα, notwithstanding the Accent ; as he knew the Romans pronounced them in their own language *Pertinacis* ; and not *Pertinacis* ; etc.

In the same manner as Dion Cassius, in speaking of the favourite horse of Caligula, (whom his Imperial Majesty intended to honour with the Consulship,) when he writ his name Ἰγκιτάριον, (a pretty word this if pronounced according to the Accent,) designed, beyond all doubt, that his Greek readers should pronounce the word Ἰγκιτάριον, as the Romans pronounced it, *Incitatum* ; and not *Incitatum*. In like manner, when he writ Γερμανικὸς, he designed his countrymen should pronounce the name, as the Romans pronounced it, *Germānicus* ; and not *Germānicus* : because he knew that these never accented the last syllable.

I hope it will not be said that these Greek authors did not know how the Romans pronounced their language ; when it is well known that Dionysius, as he himself tells us in the beginning of his

his History, lived twenty-two years at Rome : That Herodian enjoyed a considerable Post at Rome under the Roman Emperors in the Third century : And that Dion Cassius was a Roman Consul : It is impossible therefore that these authors could have accented their works in the manner they are come down to us : this must have been done by Greek Transcribers in the seventh century, or later ; who were unacquainted with the pronunciation and language of the Romans.

I have not yet mentioned Plutarch amongst the Greek authors who have written of the Roman affairs ; but I design now to produce an argument from his writings : In his Roman Lives, he ever does, as he must do, mention both Roman Proper names, and appellatives, which he accents in a manner quite contrary to That, in which the Romans pronounced them : Instances of this are innumerable : But I rest this argument on one word, which the reader may well imagine he must often have occasion to mention in his Roman lives ; it is that of a *Dictator* : This word he writes in his own language Δικτάτωρ, Δικτάτωρι, Δικτάτωρα : Now it is not possible but that Plutarch, a Roman consul, must have heard the Romans often repeat this word, and as often lament that the abuse of this magistracy by Sylla and Cæsar had deprived them of their liberties : For he had the happiness of being a consul under a prince, Trajan, who though a great statesman, and a great general, was greater still in having deserved this encomium from a free writer, *Rarâ Temporum felicitate,*

felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere, licet; the truth of which, (if princes would but hearken to their friends, instead of their ministers,) will always add an inimitable lustre to every reign: Under such an auspicious government therefore, Plutarch must often have heard the Dictatorship deservedly reviled; and could not but know that the Romans invariably pronounced those words thus, *Dictatōris, Dictatōri, Dictatōrem*; and he himself, and all his countrymen the Greeks, pronounced them in the same manner; and yet he as invariably wrote, *Δικλάτωρος, Δικλάτῳρι, Δικλάτῳρα*: The consequence of which is very plain, that neither he, nor the Greeks did pronounce these words according to the Accent, but according to the Quantity.

But there is a Roman, whose great character, as an Orator, a Philosopher, and a Patriot, has given frequent occasions both to Plutarch and Dion Cassius to mention him; the person I mean is *Cicero*, whose life Plutarch has professedly written, and opposed him to Demosthenes; and both he, and Dion Cassius, ever write his name, thus, *Κικέρων, Κικέρωνος*; etc. though both of them must have known that the Romans always pronounced his name *Cicēro, Cicērōnis*, etc. So that these two Greek writers, if we can suppose that they pronounced these words according to the Accent, shew that they were acquainted with every thing relating to this great man, but his name: However, that there may not remain the least doubt in what manner the Romans pronounced it, as well in the nominative, as in the oblique cases, I shall quote a verse from

Juvenal⁷, which will prove both; and at the same time do that justice to his character, which Dion Cassius has refused:

Roma Patrem Patriæ Cicēronem libera dixit.

SECTION II.

Γαλιν' ὄρω explained.

LET me now proceed to another, and a stronger argument, on which I shall desire leave to expatiate a little more particularly.

There is a passage in the Scholiast upon the *Orestes* of Euripides, which I think a very strong proof that the ancient Greeks did not pronounce their language according to the Accents, but according to the Quantity: The reader will observe that at the time of Euripides there were no Accents, because he lived before Aristophanes of Byzantium, who is said to have invented these Accents, which, if the Patrons of them are to be credited, have totally changed the pronunciation of the Greek language.

This passage I shall mention the rather, because it is left to the investigation of the learned, and given up as desperate by the Oedipus of our age in solving these difficulties, Dr. Taylor, as he has shewn in his most curious and learned Notes upon Demosthenes.

⁷ Sat. viii. v. 244.

The

The verse of Euripides is in his Tragedy called *Orestes*, v. 279 ; where Orestes says,

Εκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὐθις αὖ Γαλὴν' ὄρω.

Upon which the Scholiast remarks, Κεκωμωδῆσαι ὁ σίχρος δια Ηγελοχον τον ὑποκρίην. ὃ γὰρ φθασάντα διελειν την συναλοιφην, επιλειφάντος τὸ πνεύματος, τοῖς ακρωμένοις τὴν Γαλὴν δοξαι λεγειν το Ὕων, ἀλλ' ἔχει τα Γαλῆνα. πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ διεπαιξαν των κωμικων : That is : " The actor Hegelochus, being troubled with a shortness of breath, did not distinguish the συναλοιφή, or as we call it the elision in Γαλὴν' : for which reason he pronounced it like Γαλῆνα, which in Greek signifies *A Cat*."

This gave occasion to the comedy writers of his time to ridicule Euripides, or rather his actor Hegelochus ; and one of those writers, Sannyrion, in his play called *Danaë*, now lost, introduces a person, who wants to conceal himself, and says, " What shape shall I take to hide myself ? Suppose I take that of *a Cat* ? — But Hegelochus, the Tragedian, will discover me, and call out to my enemies ;

Εκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὐθις αὖ Γαλὴν' ὄρω : — pro Γαλῆν' :

After a Storm again I see—A Cat : —instead of A Calm :"

I shall lay before the reader the remaining words of the Scholiast, that he may the better judge of the explication I have given to them :

Καὶ Σαντυριων ἐν Δαναῇ τι αὖ γενομενος εἰς σπὴν ἐνδύσσομαι ;

ενδυσσομαι; φερ' εἰ γενοίμην Γαλήνῃ—ἀλλ' Ἠγελο-
χος με μνηστειν, ὁ Τραγικός, ἀνακραγοῖ τ' ἀν' ἔτος
εἰς ἐκθροῦς μέγα,

Ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὐθις αὖ Γαλήνῃ ὄρω.

The same circumstances are also related by the Scholiast upon the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, v. 305; but with less accuracy.

It is a common thing in Greek poetry to find the emphasis laid on the ultima when long, in the case of an elision, if, before the elision, it was laid on the same syllable, which was then the penultima: This is so true, that if it is not observed, the verse is destroyed; as for example:

— — — — — ἑκάλον πόλεων πρυλέεσσ' ἀραρυῖαν.⁸

The Romans also, who took not only their letters, and great part of their language from the Greeks, but likewise their versification, followed them in this particular; a remarkable instance of which may be seen in the following verse:

*Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen
ademptum.*

In reading which verse, there is not the least doubt, but the Romans, whatever grammarians may say, followed the example of their masters, the Greeks, in observing the elisions, and read it thus;

*Monstr' horrend', inform', ingens, cui lumen
ademptum;*

⁸ Iliad. E. v. 744.

with

with the emphasis on the ultima in *horrend'*, *inform'*; as in *Γαλιν'*.

If it is said that they did not observe these elisions; it must also be said that they transformed this verse into prose; which I believe no scholar will allow. It was the want of attention in the actor to this rule, or rather his want of breath, that made him lay the emphasis on the penultima in *Γαλιν'*, and pronounce it as the Athenians pronounced *Γαλιν*, which gave Sannyrio an occasion to burlesque this verse; or indeed the actor's manner of pronouncing it, as we have already seen.

It is very easy to imagine that more breath is required in an actor, particularly when he speaks to an audience consisting of many thousand men, and those Athenians, who had critical ears, to lay the emphasis on the last syllable in *Γαλιν'*, than on the penultima; but his breath would not suffice for this; he therefore pronounced *Γαλιν'*, an adjective elided, but taken substantively here for *Γαλινη*, *A Calm sea*; as the Greeks pronounced *Γαλιν*, *A Cat*; which plainly shews that the Greeks in pronouncing this word, laid the emphasis on the penultima, though the ultima is circumflexed, being a contraction from *Γαλεη*: and consequently did not pronounce it according to the Accent. I have said that the actor would, if his breath would have allowed it, have laid the emphasis on the ultima in *Γαλιν'*, because the word was *Γαλιννα*: and the elision of the last letter could make no difference in the Quantity of the preceding syllable, which is long, but left it as it found it.

I hope

I hope the reader will excuse me for having been guilty of something like a repetition in treating this subject; but as it was a little intricate, I was under a necessity of shewing it in more than one light, in order to give it all possible perspicuity.

SECTION III.

No Pause at the End of the Verse, unless the Sense ends there.

HAVING thus endeavoured to explain this difficult passage in Euripides, I shall descend now to more modern writers.

I was equally surprised and sorry to find the following observation in the first dissertation of a very learned gentleman⁹; *And the Pause which must necessarily be made at the end of every verse, is the true reason why the last syllable is not common, but necessarily long.*

Now there is no sort of necessity that there should be a pause at the end of every verse; neither can there be any pause, unless the sense ends with the verse: Of this I shall give two examples, one from Homer, and the other from Horace; both which will also prove at the same time that, according to an established rule both of Greek and Latin Prosody, every Vowel and Diphthong is common at the end of a verse:

— — — — — ἔδ' ἀπὶ θῆσε
Μυθῶ Αἰνῶις¹⁰. — — —

⁹ Dr. Gally, p. 68.

¹⁰ Iliad. A. v. 220.

Here

Here there is no pause at the end of the first verse; and the short vowel ϵ is made long by the force of that rule.

The next example shall be from Horace;

*Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
Collegisse juvat*¹¹:

Here also there is no pause at the end of the first verse; and the long syllable *cūm* is made short in consequence of the same rule.

I said that a diphthong, as well as a vowel, is common at the end of the verse; this will be proved by the following verse of Alcæus;

Ου χρη κακοισιν θυμον επιτρεπειν.

Here now the diphthong $\epsilon\iota$ is made short by the rule I have mentioned.

¹¹ Ode L. B. i. v. 3.

SECTION IV.

An Historical Criticism.

AFTER so many dry grammatical criticisms, it may be some relief to the reader to amuse himself with a short Historical Criticism.

Mr. Primatt¹², in speaking of *Solon*, says, *Upon whose death, Pisistratus seized the Government.*

Now it is certain from Plutarch, in his *Life of Solon*, that this great person did all in his

¹² Accent. Rediviv. page 274. Notes.

power to prevent his fellow citizens from granting a guard to Pisistratus; and, when Aristo made a motion for that purpose in an assembly of the people, Solon rose up, and opposed it: And afterwards, when Pisistratus had fixed himself in the tyranny, Solon appeared in the Forum, and advised the people not to abandon their Liberty; telling them that indeed it was much easier to prevent the establishment of a tyranny; but that it was a much greater, and a far more illustrious action to extirpate and destroyt his, now it was established, and had taken root. This behaviour made all his friends look upon him as a man devoted to destruction: And when they asked him, what could encourage him to act in so inconsiderate a manner; he answered, *My advanced Age*: However, it seems that Pisistratus, though a tyrant, was not a Phalaris; for, notwithstanding this provocation, he paid great court to Solon; often sending for him, and advising with him; and not only observed his laws himself, but obliged all his friends to observe them likewise. We have moreover, in Diogenes Laertius¹³, a letter from Pisistratus to Solon; in which the former apologises for his having seized the tyranny, as pretending an hereditary right to it, by being descended from Codrus: And Solon, in his answer to him, calls him *the very best of all Tyrants*:
 Και σε φημι παντων Τυραννων ειναι βασιλῆγον.

All this, I believe, will convince my own

¹³ Life of Solon.

readers, and the readers likewise of that learned gentleman himself, that Pisistratus seized the government, *before the death of Solon.*

SECTION V.

Of the Points, Spirits, and Accents of Aristophanes of Byzantium.

BUT to return to our subject: It is supposed¹⁴, that Aristophanes of Byzantium, who was a scholar of Eratosthenes, and flourished under Ptolemy Euergetes, and Philopater, invented *Points, Spirits, and Accents*; the antiquity of all which is urged by another writer on this subject¹⁵, as a reason for their being admitted into all editions, as constituting a part, *an essential part of the Greek Language.*

Those who make use of this argument, (I mean those authors whom I have read) do not seem to entertain the least suspicion that the *Points, Spirits, and Accents* now made use of, are not the *Points, Spirits, and Accents* invented by Aristophanes: However, if I can shew, (and I think I can shew) that they are not the same, but invented by modern Greeks, above eight hundred years after the age of Aristophanes, this argument, derived from their antiquity, must necessarily fall to the ground; and

¹⁴ Montfaucon, Palæog. Græc. p. 31, and 33.

¹⁵ Foster, p. 387. Second Edit.

I really

I really know of no other, that can give the least countenance to an arbitrary invention, introduced in an ignorant age.

I shall begin with the *Points*: Montfaucon tells us in the passage already quoted, that Aristophanes performed Three different sorts of Punctuation with one *Point* differently placed: So that a *Full Point* was expressed by a *Point* ranged in the same line with the *Top* of the last letter of the preceding word; τελεια Στιγμα. Α μεση Στιγμα, or what we call a *Semicolon*, by a *Point* in the *Middle* of the same letter: And an ὑπο Στιγμα, or a *Colon* with us, by a *Point* at the *Foot* of the preceding letter.

Every one will perceive at the first sight that this Punctuation is very different, and directly contrary to that of the modern Greeks, which is adopted at present.

But it seems much easier to determine whether the antient Greek authors ought to be printed without Accents, than whether the modern Punctuation so contrary to that of Aristophanes ought to be preserved: It is certain that in the most antient Inscriptions the Punctuation is more different still, both from that of Aristophanes, and from that of the Moderns likewise: In the Sigeian Inscription for instance, the most antient of all, there are two *Points*, something like our Colon, after every word: In the Athenian Inscription, three: And in the Herodian Inscription, none at all. So that, as there does not seem to have been any fixed antient Punctuation; and as our eyes are used to the modern Punctuation, I can see no great inconvenience

venience in retaining it : I shall not therefore say any more on this article, than that I wish Dr. Foster in his learned essay¹⁶, had not made use of the following words, (misled if I mistake not by Montfaucon¹⁷;) *But farther, Aristophanes was the person, who invented, and first made use of Punctuation.* If this is meant of the particular Punctuation made use of in the school of Aristophanes, I suppose it may be so : But if of Punctuation in general, I am afraid it is not ; because both the Sigeian and Athenian Inscriptions are many years earlier than the age of Aristophanes, and both of them pointed.

I proceed next to the *Spirits*. Montfaucon says likewise, that Aristophanes employed the letter H to denote the *Spirits*, by dividing it in two, perpendicularly ; the first part on the left hand being employed by him to mark an *Asper* ; and the other a *Lenis*¹⁸. But the last mark seems to me to have been superfluous ; because every vowel in the beginning of a word, which is not aspirated, may be deemed a *Lenis* ; in the same manner as every syllable, which has neither an *Acute*, nor a *Circumflex*, is supposed to have a *Grave*. The only exception to this rule will be, when there are two *ρ ρ* together in the middle of a word ; the first of which will be marked with a *Lenis*, and the other with an *Asper*, thus *ρ̇ ρ̇* : but then I think our two modern *Spirits* will answer this purpose much better than the two halves of the H, made use of by Aristophanes ;

¹⁶ Page 186. Second Edition.

¹⁷ Page 31.

¹⁸ Montfaucon, Palæog. Græc. p. 33.

phanes; and that our modern *Asper* will appear in print with greater simplicity than his half H, thus *h*, in order to answer the same end.

And here I might mention the *Iota subscriptum*; but the use of this admits of more doubt; for it is certain that before the introduction of the H, and the Ω , or rather before Simonides transformed the H from an *Asper* into a *Letter*, the Iota in the Dative Case was written in the same line with the O and the E; as in the following words from the Athenian Inscription, Fig. I.

On the contrary, there are many Inscriptions in Gruter, though not so antient, yet of considerable antiquity, which are not in capitals, and where the Iota is always underwritten: I should therefore think that when Greek is printed in capitals, the former method ought to be preserved; and when in small characters, the latter.

I come now to the *Accents*, which will require to be treated in a much greater extent, and doubt not but to prove that they likewise cannot be same with those invented by Aristophanes.

Montfaucon indeed does not betray the least suspicion that they are not the same, though he says in the same passages above quoted, that no Accents are to be found in any manuscripts of the Fifth or Sixth century, nor before the Seventh; the same thing he says also of Inscriptions; which is so true, that of all the antient Inscriptions, which are yet extant, from the Sigeon, downwards to the fifth century, not one of them is accented; except that of Herculaneum, which will be considered hereafter.

To this I suppose it will be said that the reason why the old Inscriptions and Manuscripts are not accented, is because it is a received rule of Accentuation that capital letters should never be accented; and it will be observed that these inscriptions and manuscripts are all in capitals: But this rule is still more modern than the Accents themselves; for the reader may see two manuscripts in Montfaucon of the seventh century, both in capitals, and both accented¹⁹.

This long disappearance of the Accents alone affords a strong proof that those made use of by the Greeks in the seventh century cannot be the Accents invented, or made use of by Aristophanes: How should these modern Greeks have revived his Accents, when, during more than eight hundred years, they had never seen them, either in inscriptions, or manuscripts? — They retained them by tradition I suppose: — This must be said; or it must be allowed they invented them: But it can never be pretended these Accents, with all the intricate rules that relate to them, could be transmitted to the modern Greeks by a tradition of eight hundred years, when all other helps were wanting: And I very much doubt whether even the Accents of Aristophanes were ever universally received; because in any antient Author I never met with the least hint that tended to describe them; though many of those authors speak of their *προσῳδια*, or the proper raising and depressing of the voice, appropriated to every syllable.

¹⁹ Palæog. Græc. pages 217 and 18.

I rather

I rather believe that Aristophanes, who succeeded his master Eratosthenes in his school at Alexandria, invented his Accents for the use of his own scholars, to direct them in the pronunciation of the Greek language, which being at that time the Court language of Ægypt, it is probable that many Ægyptians sent their sons to Alexandria to learn Greek, who, having from their cradle been taught a language so different from all others, required more than ordinary assistance to pronounce it with any tolerable propriety.

But it is very improbable that these Accents of Aristophanes should have been universally received, when the excessive jealousy of the Athenians of every thing that could derogate from their superiority in speaking and writing their own language was so notorious, that no man can believe they would have submitted to receive Accents from Alexandria.

However this may be, certain it is that the modern Greeks did not follow Aristophanes either in their *Points*, or *Spirits*; but invented others totally different from his: And if they departed from him in their *Points*, and *Spirits*, why not in their *Accents* also? And that they did, is to me extremely clear: Probably the reader may likewise be of the same opinion, after he has heard what I have to offer farther on this head.

It has been already observed that no Accents are to be found in any manuscripts, before the seventh century: But in the first accented manuscripts the Accents are intirely different from those now in use. Both of them therefore can-

not be the Accents introduced by Aristophanes: I say, these Accents are intirely different from those now in use, as may be seen in a manuscript exhibited by Montfaucon²⁰; where the *Asper*, if marked at all, is marked thus $\dashv$; a *Lenis* thus $\rightarrow$; and a *Circumflex* thus Δ ; and no *Iota*, either under the vowel, where it is now placed; or at the end of the vowel, where it was placed in the oldest inscriptions.

But a more unfortunate alteration was introduced in the ninth and tenth centuries; no less than a change in the shape and power of one of the Greek consonants, which subsists among the Greeks to this day: I mean the β was changed into a υ ; and the power of our v given to it²¹.

By this means, the sound of the *Beta*, which was appropriated to that letter by the Hebrews in their Chaldaic *Beth*, (Fig. 2 :) by the Phœnicians and Samaritans in their *Beth*, (Fig. 3 :) by the Arabians in their *Ba*, (Fig. 4 :) and by the Romans in their *Be*, (Fig. 5 :) was totally abrogated; and to this day that letter is called *Vita*, in all their grammars; and in one of the last mentioned manuscripts²², $\beta\alpha\beta\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$ is written as in Fig. 6.

This change in the shape and power of the β is likewise to be found, where one would least of all expect to find it, in an attestation signed by the empress Irene Ducæna, ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΔΟΥΚΑΙΝΑ , as she writes her name, though in other charac-

²⁰ Palæog. Græc. page 218.

²¹ Montfaucon, p. 275. ²² Page 301.

ters, (copied in Fig. 7.) in the signature to the attestation of the *Typicon* exhibited by Montfaucon²³, and is here represented from him: Fig. 8.

She was consort to Alexius Comnenes, and mother of Anna Comnena, a very accomplished princess, and writ the history of her father's reign, who died in 1118. We find by this attestation that Irene built a monastery as she says *ἐν βαθρῶν*, or as it is expressed in Fig. 9, and is there stiled *Ευσεβεῖς αἱ Αὐγῆς*, or in her own characters as in Fig. 10.

This attestation must have been written by her about the beginning of the twelfth century; because Montfaucon is of opinion that it was written not long before the death of that emperor: These Accents therefore must have been used, and this language spoken at the court of Constantinople in her time.

It is remarkable that in the signature to this attestation she stiles herself *Βασιλισσα Ρωμῶν*, or thus in the original, Fig. 11.

All which shews that the characters, and Orthography, as well as the Accentuation of the Greeks was then fluctuating; as may be seen in Fig. 12.

But it is evident that neither of the marks, which she there makes use of, by way of a circumflex, answer the description of the circumflex as given by Dionysius²⁴, (*Τῶν δὲ ἀμφότερας τὰς τὰς εἰς ἐχθρῶν, αἱ μὲν κατὰ μιαν συλλαβὴν συνεφθαρμένον εἶχον τῷ Ὄξει το Βάρυ, ὡς δὲ Περιπωμένον καλεῖται*;) so well, as the first

²³ Palæog. Græc. page 301.

²⁴ Περὶ Συνθεσ. Ονομασ. p. 17. Hudson's Edition.

circumflex we find in the Greek manuscripts, which was marked thus $\wedge$; and fully points out the combination, or conjunction, of *the Acute* ['], and *the Grave* [`]; united atop: whereas the last, I mean the modern circumflex $\sim$, seems to be an arbitrary mark, and looks like the unmeaning flourish of an idle scribbler.

If the reader has the curiosity to cast his eye once more on the *Typicon* of the empress Irene, and particularly on her attestation and signature at the end of it, all of her own hand-writing, he will find not only the barbarous alteration of the β into a ν , introduced about three hundred years before, continued there, but many poverities in the language itself, many oddities in the Accentuation, and the syllables divided as far from one another, as the words themselves ought to be; with many other strong symptoms of barbarism.

I speak of this *Typicon*, as if I understood the word, which I own I do not, having never met with it in the sense it is here used; which must signify a *Charter*, or *The fac similar Copy* of one; or something of that nature.

From the time of this empress Irene Ducæna, that is, from the twelfth century, I believe nobody will imagine that the Greek language gradually improved till the middle of the fifteenth, when Constantinople was taken by the Turks; and yet this really must have been the case, if a letter, quoted with so much complacency by Dr. Foster ²⁵; and written at that period, has

²⁵ Page 208. Second Edition.

any foundation in truth : Philelphus, the author of that letter, there says, *Græci, quibus lingua depravata non sit, et quos ipsi tum sequimur, tum imitamur, ita loquuntur, vulgo etiam hac tempestate, ut Aristophanes comicus, ut Euripides tragicus, ut oratores omnes, ut historiographi, ut philosophi etiam ipsi, et Plato, et Aristoteles : Viri aulici veterem sermonis dignitatem atque elegantiam retinebant ; in primisque ipsæ nobiles mulieres, quibus cum nullum esset omnino cum viris peregrinis commercium, merus ille et purus Græcorum sermo servabatur intactus.* In this *Typicon* and *Signature* so often quoted, we see the language indeed of the court at that time, and of an empress, but totally differing from the character and account here given of it by Philelphus about three hundred years after.

I have conversed with many modern Greeks, both in England, and abroad ; and they still persist in giving the sound of a *υ* to the *β* ; with many other barbarous deviations from the language of their ancestors, which I believe were all, or most of them, cotemporary with the alteration made in the sound of that letter. Here a new letter is used, instead of an old one, which is proveable by manuscripts, as in the present case ; but, where the sound only of the letter is changed, that can scarce be proved by them : However, certain it is that, besides the alteration so often mentioned, the modern Greeks give the sound of our *e*, or of the French *i*, to three vowels, namely *η*, *ι*, and *υ* : and to three diphthongs, namely *ει*, *οι*, and *υι* : The *υ* is often used by them as a consonant, and then it

has

has the sound of our *f*, or *v*: as in the word *αυλος*, the first syllable of which they pronounce, as we do that of *After*, and call the whole word *Aftos*.

They have likewise a most ungrammatical salutation, which they often make use of, and pronounce as if it was written in the following manner, *Καλὸς ἡμέρα, κίριε!* *Good morrow, Sir!* So highly are they improved!

SECTION VI.

A Criticism on Γελοιοι.

TO consider another article: I agree intirely with Mr. Primatt, when he says²⁶, that *the Scholiasts, Compilers, and Etymologists of the latter ages, hardly ever give you any thing of their own: they copy the antient Grammarians.*—Upon which I shall only observe, that these moderns *copy the antient Grammarians* either with fidelity, or they do not. If not, no regard is due to them:—If they do, they shew that the antient grammarians themselves differed in their opinion concerning the Accentuation, or rather concerning the Tone, that is, the Elevation and Depression of the voice directed by that Accentuation.

I know that this Gentleman endeavours to reconcile this contradiction of the grammarians by having recourse to the Dialects²⁷; for which

²⁶ Page 361.²⁷ Page 264.

he quotes Mæris Atticista, who distinguishes between the manner in which the Athenians accented the word Γελοιον, and that in use with the rest of the Greeks: Γέλοιον, Ἀθικως, says he, βαρυτονως. Γελοῖον, προπερισπωμενον, Ἑλληνικως.

Now this grammatical criticism, like most of the rest, is void of all foundation; because we find that Aristophanes the comedian, who is allowed to be Ἀττικωλάος, makes use of the word Γελοῖον, with a circumflex upon the penultima, where Cario says ^{a8},

Μέλα τειρ δ' ἤδη καὶ Γελοῖον δῆλα τι
Ἐποίησα.

Γελοιος is, it seems, an unfortunate word for these grammarians; because the Etymologist and Suidas differ in their manner of accenting it: Which plainly shews that the antient grammarians, whom the Etymologist and Suidas are allowed by this gentleman to have copied, did the same.

SECTION VII.

The Athenian Inscription.

MR. Primatt has committed another error, into which I believe he was led by Montfaucon, concerning the chronology of the Athenian Inscription. The words of Mr. Primatt

^{a8} Πλατ. v. 697.

are ²⁹; *During which* (the Peloponnesian war,) *the Athenians made this Inscription in honour of those who fell in that war.*

If the reader has not already seen what I have written upon this subject in the Dissertation concerning the Greek and Roman Characters, inserted in the second volume of Dionysius Halicarnassensis³⁰, he will excuse the liberty I have taken: And if he has before read that Dissertation, he will only save himself the trouble of referring to that volume by permitting me to produce again to his view the argument I have there made use of against this error.

I have there observed that the Athenian Inscription given by Montfaucon³¹, is written in old Ionic Characters, and may be thus translated: *The names of the Athenians belonging to the tribe Erechtheis, who lost their lives in the wars of Cyprus, Ægypt, Phœnicia, Haliæ, and Ægina*: The words that follow are at the heads of so many columns, on which are engraved the names of the slain.

In order to support the authenticity of this Inscription, Montfaucon has transcribed the accounts given by Thucydides of these wars: From all which that learned Monk concludes that this monument was erected *in the time of the Peloponnesian War*; and we find that Mr. Primmatt is of the same opinion: In this however I cannot agree with them; because every one of those battles, there mentioned in that Inscription, happened several years before that war,

²⁹ Page 331. ³⁰ Page 301. ³¹ Palæog. Græc. page 135.
and

and are all related by Thucydides among the military operations of the Greeks, and Barbarians, which, he himself says, *fell out during the something more than fifty years that intervened between the retreat of Xerxes, and the beginning of the Peloponnesian War*: For these are the words of Thucydides³²; after he has given an account of all the battles mentioned in the Inscription, he says, Ταῦτα δὲ ξυμπάντα, ὅσα εμπράξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Βαρβαρον, ἐγένετο ἐν ἐέσι πενήκοντα μαλιζα, μέλαξυ τῆς τε Ξερξὸς ἀναχωρησεως, καὶ τῆς Ἀρχῆς τῆδε τοῦ πολέμου: And we find by him, that after the Athenians had reduced Eubœa, (the reduction of which was subsequent to all the battles referred to in the Inscription) they made a truce of thirty years with the Lacedæmonians³³; and that in the fourteenth year of this truce³⁴, the latter resolved upon the Peloponnesian War; or, which is the same thing, that the thirty years truce was dissolved.

SECTION VIII.

Προσῳδία and Σημεία explained.

NOTHING can give greater occasion to debates, or lengthen those debates more, than the different ideas, which the parties annex to the word, or words, by which the point in dispute is expressed: Thus Dr. Foster takes

³² Book i. chap. 118.

³³ Book i. chap. 115.

³⁴ Book i. chap. 87.

Προσῳδία

Προσῳδία for Τονος φωνης, used either in singing, or speaking; which is undoubtedly the true sense of the word: And Mr. Primatt, for what we call the Accents, the Σημεια, or *Signa*, or *Marks*; by which means he has made Aristotle³⁵ talk very familiarly of Accents (as if he spoke of Σημεια) many years before they were invented by Aristophanes of Byzantium; which invention however Mr. Primatt does not allow³⁶, though Salmasius, Huetius and Montfaucon expressly assert it.

But it appears, even by the passage which Mr. Primatt quotes from Aristotle, and which Dr. Foster has also quoted in support of a different interpretation, that Προσῳδία cannot be taken for Accent, as Mr. Primatt has translated it; because Aristotle there speaks of Προσῳδία ἀνευ γραφης, which in that case would signify *Unwritten Accents*; a thing not easily understood. This sense therefore of the word Προσῳδία, I must look upon as invented to favour a particular system, and give an air of antiquity to a modern invention.

If this was not the case, the antient Greek writers would somewhere or other have given us not only the names of these Σημεια in general, but also a description of them, and directions where to place them in writing: But nothing of this kind appears in any of their works; and when they speak of Οξυ, and Βαρυ, they can only mean the Elevation and Depression of the voice, which these words well express; but the

35 Page 129.

36 Page 37.

Σημεῖα bear no sort of analogy with that expression; and an Acute Accent might, without the least violence, as well have answered the purpose of a Grave, and a Grave of an Acute.

This sense of the word Προσῳδία Mr. Primatt calls *a mere conceit of the Moderns* ³⁷: However, the etymology of the word plainly points out this sense; and there can be nothing more absurd than to imagine that Προσῳδία signified Accents, before Accents were invented: But I am not at all surprised to find that Προσῳδία should have been mistaken for Accents, because I find that all translators in all languages have given them that sense; but the explication, which Dionysius Halicarnassensis has given us of the word, ought to reform this vicious translation, and convince every one that Προσῳδία signify *The Tones of the Voice*, and not *The Marks of those Tones*; his words are so very clear, that I think they ought to decide the question: Τὰς αἰσῶν φωνῆς, αἱ καλεσμεναι Προσῳδία ³⁸.

It is, I think, universally allowed that there can be no word without a Vowel, or an Acute; but this rule, although supported by the greatest authorities, is contradicted by the rules of our modern Accents; by which the following words are not to be accented, unless followed by an Enclitic; ὁ, ἡ, εἰς, ἐς, ἐκ, ἐξ, ἐν, ὅ, ὅκ: and if then accented, the matter will not be mended, because in that case, the Enclitic will not be accented, and the foregoing rule will be equally

³⁷ Page 228.

³⁸ Περὶ Συνθεσ. Ορομα]. p. 36. Hudson's Edit.

violated: This shews that our modern Accents are intirely arbitrary, and can never be the work of so learned a man as Aristophanes; so far from constituting *an essential part of the Greek language*, as Dr. Foster has already asserted³⁹: But if Accents are really such an essential part of the Greek language, the plain consequence will be, that the writings of the most classical Greek authors, who lived before Aristophanes, wanted an essential part of that language.

SECTION IX.

A Criticism on Δος μοι Ἀποῖ.

ONCE more I must desire leave to enter upon a piece of Greek criticism, relative to this expression in a learned treatise⁴⁰, Δος μοι Ἀποῖ, which should have been most assuredly written, Δος μοι Ἀποῖ, Οἶνε, etc. since we express ourselves in the same manner, in common conversation, τι being understood, τι Ἀποῖ, τι Οἶνε: This Ellipsis is common in the French language; for the French never say *Donnez moi une piece du Pain, une partie du Vin*; but *donnez moi du Pain, du Vin*, etc. In our language the τι is expressed; for we always express ourselves thus, *Give me some bread, some wine*; but never *Give me bread, wine*; and if I was waited on at table by a Greek servant, which

³⁹ Page 387. Second Edit.

⁴⁰ Essay on the Accents, p. 330.

has often happened to me, and said to him Δος μοι Ἀκρον, or by a French servant, and said to him *Donnez moi Pain*, I should expect that they would bring me *the Loaf*, and not a *piece* of it.

The Septuagint has preserved this elegant Ellipsis, where Pharaoh says to Joseph, Καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν Αἰγυπτῶ 41.

And Lucian in his Δισκαλιγορευμενος, speaking of Socrates, makes use of the same Ellipsis, Ἐπὶ ἐν ἀβλῖος τὰ κώνειαι : Which probably he took from Herodotus, who says, Εμπιπνῖες τὰ αἰμάλως 42.

41 Genesis, xlv. v. 18.

42 Thal. c. 11.

SECTION X.

Of the French Accents.

HAVING mentioned the French language, I cannot help saying a word or two concerning their Accents, which are so numerous, that I hope they will give full satisfaction to the most strenuous defenders of Accents : It must indeed be owned, that they contradict all the rules laid down by the Greek Critics ; for these would allow but one Acute upon one word : whereas many French words have two Acutes ; as *élevé*, etc. and many of them three, as *invétéré*, *répété*, etc. and they are lately arrived to such an egregious perfection in Accentuation, as to have coined a new Accent, different from the Acute, the Grave, and the Circumflex of the

Greeks, which is *a Perpendicular Accent*, whatever name they may have ascribed to that phenomenon; and no writer is now esteemed classical among them, who does not decorate his works with this unclassical ornament.

The consequence of this new Improvement is, that we find often Two Acutes, and this Perpendicular Accent placed upon the same word; as *prédestiné, extrémités*, etc. But no words please my eye better than *exhérédation, défœtuôfité*, etc. where all the powers of Accentuation are employed. Thus every page of a modern French book is *hérissée d' Accents*, all standing like *quills upon the fretful Porcupine*, as Shakespear expresses it; or like some Drawcansir in a field of battle, flashing to the right and left *Λ*, and sometimes cleaving down his enemy with a perpendicular stroke to the girdle *!*; which last surpasses Diomede in Homer, who slew only to the right and left,

Κλέιβε δ' ἐπὶ ἑρσοφάδην. —

This new fangled Accent was not in fashion when I was in France; neither do I meet with it in the Authors of the age of Lewis XIV, which was the Augustan age for the French language: When this phenomenon made its first appearance I know not; but it puts me in mind of what I have heard the French cooks in France assert, that if they were absent from Paris but six months, they were no cooks at all; because they found the art of cookery so much improved during that short interval, that they arrived in the important scene of action, the kitchen,

al-

altogether illiterate : The same thing may be said of the French Accents, if they go on improving in the same proportion.

Upon this occasion, I cannot help congratulating with my Countrymen, that our language, like the Latin, has escaped this inundation of Greek and French Accents; and preserved its native simplicity, pure and unadorned, notwithstanding the zeal of Scholars for Antiquity, and a general fondness for French fashions.

And with regard to the Greek Accents, every one will allow that the use of them in *Poetry* is lost : Why then should they be retained in printing *the Poets* ? — I hope therefore that even those of my Readers, whose prejudices have armed their minds against conviction, will however allow me to wish that Theocritus, now printing, as I am informed, at Oxford without Accents, may at last appear in his primitive simplicity, and with all that unaffected decency, which is his peculiar character, and totally divested of all those fopperies with which the ignorance of later ages have disgraced his works : He, with the most celebrated of the Greek authors, had the advantage of living before the impertinence of Accents : And the University of Oxford need not apprehend any censure for publishing the works of Theocritus in the same manner as he himself published them, that is, Without Accents.

SECTION XI.

Of the Tones.

NO language was ever pronounced without a Distinction of Tones: The Greek and Latin Languages had most certainly this Distinction; but it is as certain that we know nothing of it in either of those languages; and it is not probable to suppose that the ignorant Greeks in the Seventh Century, when they invented, or revived the Accents, or Marks, could possibly have revived the Tones in use among the antient Greeks: If they did not; these Marks can tend to nothing but to mislead, not to direct.

That Sir John Cheke and Dr. Foster may have formed to themselves a method of raising and falling the Voice in general according to the Accents, I make not the least doubt: But how can they assure the public, or be assured themselves, that their degree of Elevation and Depression is precisely the degree of both, made use of by the antient Greeks: Which is the less probable, because we know from Dionysius that even the Quantity suffered various degrees of Length and Shortness; that is, that every long syllable was not equally long, nor every short syllable equally short: Since therefore there is so much a greater compass in the Elevation and Depression of the Voice, than in Quantity, the Degrees of which we know not; how should they be sure that the degrees, made use of by them, were the same with those made use of by the antient Greeks?

SECTION

SECTION XII.

Of the Antient Music.

THE great compass of Tone even in speaking, naturally leads me to consider, and explain a very interesting and instructive Passage in Dionysius relating to this subject, which is referred to, both by Dr. Foster and Mr. Primatt in support of their several systems, and according to my opinion mistaken by both.

But, in order to enable the Reader to decide this question, I shall quote the whole Passage, as it stands in Dionysius, which those Gentlemen have not done; and this omission I believe gave occasion to the different mistakes they have fallen into in endeavouring to explain it.

Dionysius says in his Treatise *Περὶ Συνθεσεως Ονομάτων* ⁴³. — Διαλεκτὸς μὲν ἐν μέλος ἐνὶ μέλει Διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν, τῷ λεγομένῳ Διαπέντε, ὡς ἐγγίγται, καὶ ὅτε ἐπιδείνεται πέρα τῶν τριῶν Τονῶν καὶ ἡμίονος ἐπὶ τὸ Οἶον, ὅτε ἀνιέται τὸ χωρὶς τῶν πλεον ἐπὶ τὸ Βαρύ· οὐ μὴν ἀπάσα γε ἡ Λέξις, ἡ καὶ ἐν μορίον λογὴ ταύτομένη τῆς αὐτῆς λεγέται τάσεως· ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰείας, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Βαρείας, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ ἀμφοῖν τῶν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τὰς τάσεις ἐχούσων, αἱ μὲν κατὰ μιαν συλλαβὴν συνεφθαρμένον ἐχούσιν τῷ Οἶον τὸ Βαρύ, αἱ δὲ Περιστωμένους καλεῖται· αἱ δὲ, ἐν ἑτέρῳ τε καὶ ἑτέρῳ χωρὶς ἑκάτερον, ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν τὴν οἰκίαν συλλαβὴν φύσιν· καὶ ταῖς μὲν δισσυλλαβοῖς ὅθεν τὸ δια μέσῳ χωρίον Βαρύτης καὶ Οἰότητος· ταῖς δὲ

⁴³ Section 15.

πολυσυλλαβοις, οἷαι πολ' αν ωσιν, ἢ τον οξυν
 Τονον εχουσα μια εν πολλαις βαρειαις ενεστιν. Η
 δε Οργανικη τε και Ωδικη μυστα, Διαστημασι
 τε χρῆται πλεουσιν, ου τῷ Διαπεντε, μονον, αλλ'
 απο τῶ Διαπασων αρξαμενη, και το Διαπεντε
 μελωδει, και το Διαλεσσαρον, και το Διατονον,
 και το Ημιτονιον· ως δε τινες οιοῦνται, και την Διε-
 σιν αισθητως.

Here the Reader sees that Dionysius shews how much a greater compass Music has, than Speaking; the former taking *All the Diastemata*; and the latter being confined to *One* only, namely the *Diapente*; which Dr. Foster, (imposed upon I imagine by the obvious signification of the word) makes to consist of but *Five notes*⁴⁴: Whereas it seems to have been called *Διαπεντε*, not from the *Five notes*, of which alone it is thought by him to consist; but from its *Place*, being the *Fifth Diastema* from the *Διεςις*, reckoning the *Διεςις* as one: As the *Διαλεσσαρον* likewise was called so, not from *the number of notes* of which it consisted; but because it was the *Fourth Diastema* from the *Διεςις*.

Mr. Primatt has been led into a similar error by a different route: His words are these:⁴⁵ So that, beginning from a *Diapason*, which consists of *Six Tones*, you may run through a *Diapente*, or *Three Tones and a half*; a *Diateffaron*, or *Two Tones and a half*; and so on by different *Tones* and *Semitones*, till you come to the *Diefsis*, which is the least sound in Music, that can be distinctly perceived.

⁴⁴ Page 343. Second Edition.

⁴⁵ Page 186.

But

But I am much mistaken, if I do not convince the Reader that every one of the *Five Diastemata* consisted of *Seven Tones*, or *Notes*; three and a half ascending from the middle note of every *Diastema*, and as many descending; the *Diesis* only excepted, which consisted of but one, and that the least, note.

In order to this, having given the opinion of these two Gentlemen, let me now produce my own concerning the above mentioned quotation from Dionysius in the following translation:
“ The Melody of conversation then is measured
“ by one Octave, called the *Diapente*, nearly ;
“ and is neither raised above *Three Tones and*
“ *a half towards the higher*, nor depressed more
“ towards the lower part of this compass : But
“ all conversation is not composed either of one
“ part of Speech called of its Tension ; but
“ that is formed of the Higher, this of the
“ Lower, and that of both : But of those
“ words having *both these Tensions*, which have
“ the lower note combined with the higher
“ upon one syllable, those we call *Circumflexed* ;
“ and these preserve a similar nature with the
“ one, and with the other, without being either
“ of itself : But in dissyllables nothing of the
“ middle part of the Lower and Higher notes ;
“ but in words of many syllables, whatever they
“ may be, even one may have a higher Tone in
“ many lower ones. But Instrumental and Vocal
“ Music makes use of more Octaves, not only
“ of the *Diapente*, but beginning from the
“ *Diapason*, and the *Diapente* Stop, and the
“ *Diateffaron*, and the *Diatonon*, and the *He-*
“ *mitionion* ;

“*mitonion*; and as some think even to the
“*Diesis* imperceptibly.”

So that the whole *Gamut* consisted of *Thirty-six* notes: But the following Scale will explain both the passage in question, and my comment upon it. Fig. 13.

Pursuant to this Scale the best of our Harpsicords and Spinets are now formed, and answer exactly to the description here given of the Greek *Gamut* by Dionysius: And it is observable that before the Time of Handel, that great master of Music, our Harpsicords and Spinets were not formed upon this plan; so that it is very probable that he himself brought it from Italy, and that the Greek musicians in the Fifteenth century had carried it thither.

The *Gamut* here exhibited is calculated for a G Instrument, which happens to be my own, and is the most perfect *Gamut*, and possibly the only perfect one; for, if it was calculated for any higher note or letter, then the Three notes and a half ascending would rise into the *Diateffaron*; and if it was calculated for any lower letter, then the Three notes and a half descending would sink into the *Diapason*, and not be confined to the *Diapente*, as Dionysius has most properly confined them.

And here I cannot help taking notice of the great extent of knowledge in this Author; he has in his Roman History shewn himself a Politician, an Architect, a Master of Tactics, and an Orator; and in this Treatise Περὶ Συνθέσεως Ὀργάνων, he displays a perfect knowledge of

Music;

Musick: All these accomplishments do great honour to the Historian and Critic, but are generally so many snares to a Translator, who will often find himself reduced to difficulties in appropriating to each of those arts and sciences their respective terms and explications.

This Scale of Dionysius will be farther confirmed by an observation from the great Sir Isaac Newton on the analogy between *the Seven Primary Colours*, and *the Seven Notes of Music*; which *Seven Primary Colours* answer neither to *the Five Notes* of Dr. Foster, nor to *the Three and a half* of Mr. Primatt: but to *the Seven notes* of which every *Musical Diastema* does consist: And, if I might take the liberty of blending an observation of my own with those of Sir Isaac Newton, I would say that every *Sheaf of rays*, composing *one white ray*, and consisting of *Seven Primary Colours*, answers to every *Diastema*, composing one *Octave*, and consisting of *Seven Primary Notes*, with the given Note doubled.

As Mr. Primatt looks upon the Elevation and Depression of the Voice, denoted by the Accents, to be *a mere conceit of the moderns to serve a modern hypothesis*⁴⁶; he must suppose that the Greeks pronounced the Acute, the Grave, and the Circumflex, all in the same Tone; which would produce a monotony in conversation that no ear could bear, and answer very ill to what Dionysius calls *The Melody of Conversation*, *Διαλέξις μελος*, and less yet to the comparison he makes between Oratorical Speaking, and Instru-

⁴⁶ Page 228.

mental and Vocal Music, which he says differ only $\tau\omega\ \omega\sigma\sigma\omega$, not $\tau\omega\ \omega\sigma\iota\omega$, in *Quantity*, not *Quality*; that is, Music takes in all the *Five Diastemata*, with the *Diefsis*: whereas Speech is confined to *one Diastema alone*, namely the *Diapente*, consisting, as we have seen, of *Seven Tones*; three and a half ascending, and as many descending, which are only other words for the Elevation and Depression of the Voice, with the several degrees of Length and Shortness for both. With all this, the Monotony, contended for by Mr. Primatt, is absolutely inconsistent.

The following example may possibly clear up this matter better than any thing I can say upon it: Let us make use of the word $\tau\iota\mu\eta$, the latter syllable of which is a barytone in the context of a sentence, $\tau\iota\mu\eta$, an oxytone at the end of it, $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}$, and a circumflex in the dative case whether in the context, or at the end of a sentence, $\tau\iota\mu\grave{\eta}$: Now, according to Mr. Primatt, these three words must all be pronounced pursuant to the Accent, and all in the same Tone: But, according to my opinion, as they have three different Accents, they ought to have three different Tones: The following short Scale will explain my meaning. Fig. 14.

This shews there was a much greater affinity between the manner of speaking in use among the Greeks, and their Music, than there is between ours; since, as Dionysius says, their Speaking did not differ from their Music $\tau\omega\ \pi\sigma\iota\omega$, but only $\tau\omega\ \pi\sigma\sigma\omega$, not in *Quality*, but only in *Quantity*.

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There is a Passage in Plutarch's Life of Thefeus, where he says the Pythopolitans were guilty of an error in *calling* a place Εῤυθ οικίαν, instead of Εῤυθ οἰκίαν: This, Dr. Foster says, *indisputably confirms the present system of Accents*⁴⁷. It would indeed confirm it much more satisfactorily, if Plutarch had made use of the word Γραφειν, instead of Καλειν: But by using the latter word, he has most evidently shewn that the error of the Pythopolitans consisted in their manner of *pronouncing* that word, and not so indisputably in their manner of *accenting*, or *writing* it.

⁴⁷ Page 164.

SECTION XIII.

Of the antient Accented Inscription found in Herculaneum.

I Shall now consider the *Inscrizione importantissima*, as the Italian Publisher calls it, discovered at Herculaneum in the year 1743: This Inscription I have seen, with the Account of it in one of the Two Volumes, presented to the Royal Society by the King of Spain.

This *most important Inscription* seems destined to produce blunders; the first of which we find consists in mangling a verse of Euripides, taken out of his *Antiope*, a play of which only some fragments, published by Barnes, now remain: The Verse itself runs thus;

Σοφον

Σοφὸν γὰρ ἐν βελευμα τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας
Νικᾷ.

*For one wise Head does many Hands
Surpass.*

This Verse Polybius quotes ⁴⁸ from Euripides, and applies it to Xantippus, the Lacedæmonian general, under whose command the Carthaginians defeated the Romans, and took Marcus Atilius Regulus, one of their Consuls, prisoner: And this Verse it is probable the Architect, who built the street at Herculaneum, or at least the house which stands at the end of it, on the corner of which this Inscription is to be seen, might apply to himself, and to the superiority he had over his workmen.

This City, as we learn from *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, was built by Hercules and his Greeks, who were left here to inhabit it ⁴⁹: And many of the citizens, after the Romans had made themselves masters of it, and even to the time of its being overwhelmed by an earthquake and a violent eruption from Mount Vesuvius, about the 79th of Christ, were probably Greeks; which accounts for the Inscription being in that language; though nothing can account for the many errors with which it abounds both in the original from Herculaneum, and in the several copies which have been made of it: For nobody can believe that Greeks, or even that Ro-

⁴⁸ Page 36. Casaubon's Edition.

⁴⁹ Roman Antiquities, Book I. Sect. 44. p. 98.

mans, would have misrepresented this Verse of Euripides in the manner it now appears both in the Inscription and its several copies ; which is as follows .

ὡς ἐν σ' ο φόν βέλευμα τὰς πολλὰς Χεῖρας νικά.

which Mr. Primatt, after the Italian Publisher, says ought to be read thus ;

ὡς ἐν σοφὸν βέλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας νικά.

But, if it is read thus, it will consist of Seven Feet ; which every one knows cannot be admitted into an Iambic Verse : Besides the absurdity of its ending with a Spondee ; both which errors of the original are suffered to remain in this copy.

I do not think that all Antiquity can shew in five lines so many inaccuracies, as are to be met with in this *most important Inscription*, consisting but of one line : For this reason I am not at all surpris'd to hear that some man of learning in France is now actually employed in writing a Dissertation to prove that this Inscription is not genuine : but the work of some advocate for Accents, who took his advantage of the subterraneous situation of the ruins of Herculaneum to affix this Inscription on one of the walls of some house there with greater zeal, than abilities.

However this may be, and whether true, or not, the Accents in this Inscription can in no wise affect my system, who allow that Accents were invented by Aristophanes of Byzantium to denote the Elevation and Depression of the voice,

voice, and were designed by him for the use of his own Scholars at Alexandria; but I do not think that they were so universally received, as many gentlemen have imagined; and therefore cannot help expressing my very great surprise to find that among the many accented manuscripts exhibited by Montfaucon, not one of them should be found accented like this Inscription, which if not modern, has all the symptoms of a modern Accentuation.

SECTION XIV.

That no Word can receive Two Acute Accents; which however is the Case, when Enclitics are incorporated with the preceding Word.

BUT I have something more yet to say to our modern Accents, before I part with them; which is, that they formally contradict many of the rules, laid down by the ancient Greek Critics, who wrote long before their language had received the least taint from their barbarous neighbours: And one of these rules was that no Word can receive Two Acute Accents: Αμνηχανε ονιος εν ονομα Δυο λαβειν Οξείας⁵⁰.

Let us now see whether the rules of our modern Accenters are not a flat contradiction to this rule: I will suppose that a Proparoxyton is followed by an Enclitic; the consequence will

⁵⁰ Dionysius, Περὶ Συνθεσεως Ονομάτων. Page 18.

be, that by their rules of Accentuation, the Accent of the Enclitic will be transferred to the last syllable of the preceding word, as ἤκουσά σε: Here then will be Two Acutes on the same word. But the highest of all absurdities is, that by printing with Accents, they have made Dionysius himself, about ten lines before that he laid down this rule, place Two Acutes on the same word in this expression, Διασημασί τε χρῆται πλείοσιν: He is saying that Music has a greater Compass than Speaking or Conversation, and makes use of more Diastemata.

But the absurdity does not stop here; it reaches much farther; for all the Modern Grammarians to a man tell us, that Enclitics may be elegantly incorporated with the preceding word, and that both of them when thus combined do really constitute but one word: Now then, let us endeavour to place this Accentual Rule in the most amiable light, and set it off to the greatest advantage. Let us suppose that the sense had led Dionysius in this place to have expressed himself thus, Ἡ δὲ Ὀργανικῇ, τε καὶ Ὀδικῇ μῦσα τε χρῆται Διασημασί τισι: Then, by the two last Rules of Accentuation, it must be printed in this manner, Διασημασί τισι.

Which will be to add still another and a greater absurdity to the former; for now, here will be not only Two Acutes upon one and the same word, (which Dionysius has already told us ought never to be admitted) but the Accent, which according to their own rules, and by a general rule of Greek Accentuation ought never

ver to be carried back farther than the Antepenultima, will here in this instance, and in many others, be carried back to the insufferable distance of the Ante-Ante-Antepenultima: And this Conjunction of the Enclitic will give birth to such a monster of a word, as I believe never appeared in any language.

To these absurdities the Accents, introduced by so learned a Grammarian as Aristophanes, could never have been subject: The present Accents therefore must be looked upon as the invention of Modern Greeks, designed to protract for a time the life of their agonizing Language, which, with all the other Sciences, invented, or improved, by their great ancestors, was then expiring.

F I N I S.



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T H E
VOYAGE OF ÆNEAS

FROM
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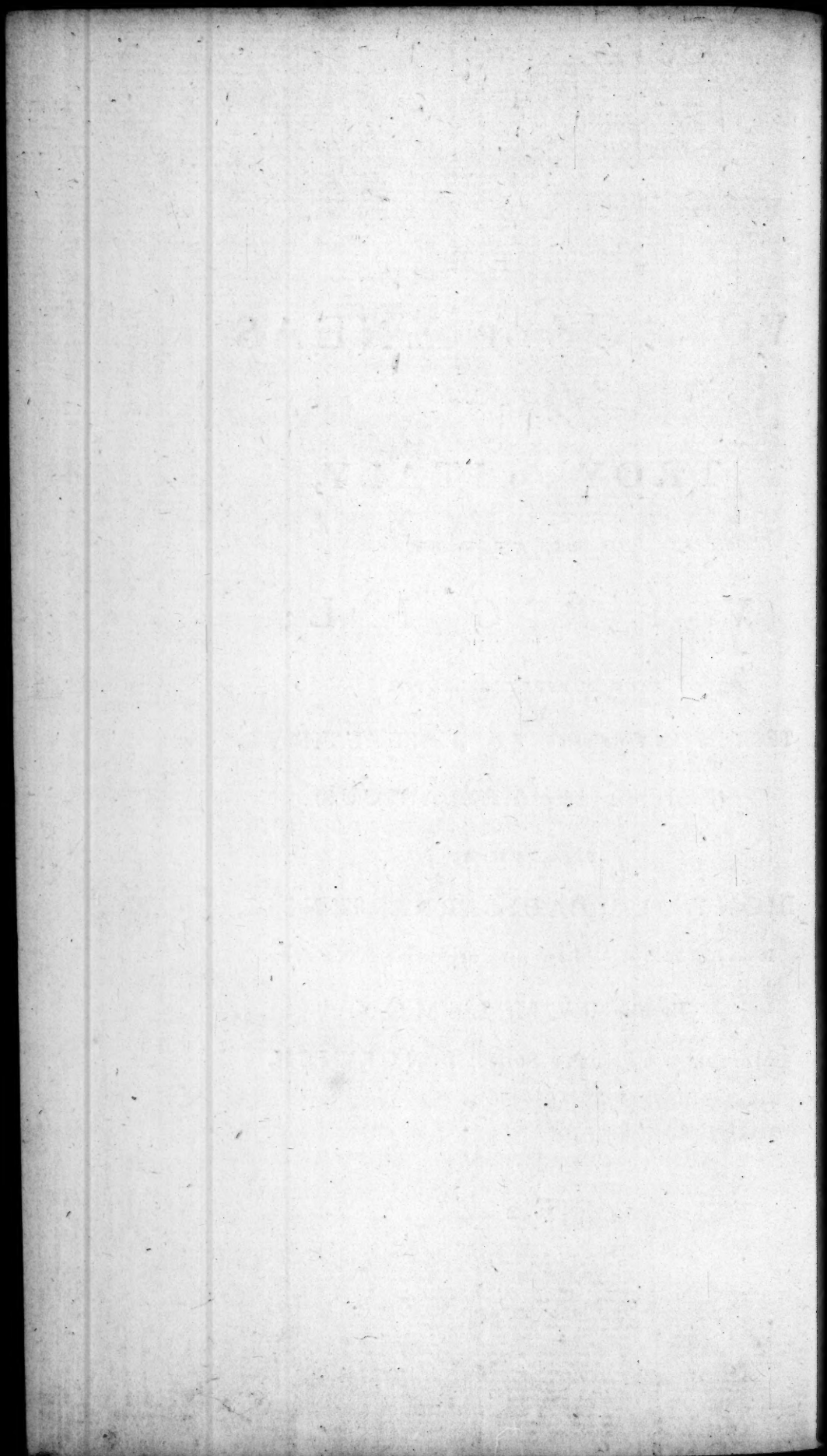
AS RELATED BY
V I R G I L;

AND SUPPORTED BY THE
TESTIMONY OF THOSE ANTIENT AUTHORS,
(PARTICULARLY OF HELLANICUS)

PRESERVED BY
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS,

In the First Book of his ROMAN ANTIQUITIES, Sect. xlv. etc.

By the Rev. Mr. LEMON,
MASTER OF THE FREE-SCHOOL IN NORWICH.



TO THE
R E A D E R.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Publication of this little Treatise may serve to answer the Two following Purposes: The one, to lay before the Reader a specimen of a much larger attempt; viz. *An intire new Translation of the Works of Virgil*: And the other, to exhibit a most remarkable conformity between the several passages quoted from *Virgil* in this Treatise, and those produced from that great historian *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, relative to the subject of this work.

With respect to the former of these two purposes, it may be necessary to say something more at large concerning the attempt itself, and to apologise for my undertaking

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such a work ; particularly after it has already passed through so many abler hands, and has appeared with so much lustre in the versions of Dryden, Pit, and Strahan ; any of which translations will undoubtedly afford ample matter of amusement to a reader, who is desirous of being acquainted with Virgil, no farther than in a Translation ; for all their works read extremely well, and are written in harmonious numbers sufficient to catch the ear, but will never satisfy the eye and mind of a curious reader, who wishes to compare what he reads with the original ; or who wishes to acquire an idea of the original by referring to the translation : Then alone will the fidelity and strength of a translation appear conspicuous, when it is able to abide this fiery trial ! Into what fine thin vapours do even the most plausible translations vanish, when analysed within this test ! All the fair, and specious outsidings, with respect to gilding and binding, will never compensate for a bad translation ; and all the silver-tinkling of numbers, and most delicate choice of vague and insignificant words, evaporate, and come to nought, when confronted with the original ; for neither the bold use of figures, the sonorous

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rous powers of poetry, nor the elegance of types and impressions, can make any amends to the reader for infidelity, and insincerity to the original.

When a translator ignorantly mistakes, willfully misinterprets, or carelessly expresses the sense of his author; when he either leaves out the epithets of his original, or substitutes and introduces new ones of his own growth; — will any one say, that he has performed the office of a *Faithful Interpreter*?

As for that terrible adage in Horace, which has been so often quoted in opposition to the point here contended for,

*Nec Verbum Verbo curabis reddere Fidus
Interpres; **

it ought never to have been brought as an objection against close and literal translations; or whenever introduced for that purpose, it is wrongfully urged, and erroneously applied; for it ought to be remembered that Horace in that passage is not there speaking of *Translators*, and their office, but of *an Author*, desirous of writing a New Play upon a subject that has

* De Arte Poetica; v. 133.

iv INTRODUCTION.

been already treated of by another pen; in such a case, he must not servilely copy the characters introduced by his predecessor; much less must he meanly stoop to borrow his very expressions, and copy him word for word; which would make him *a Faithful Translator*, instead of being only *a distant Imitator*.

Who now would suppose that this passage could be produced as an argument against *Faithful Translations*? — On the contrary, does he not, in those very words commend *a Faithful Translator*, and censure *a servile Adopter*? One, who so far neglects the duty of his office, as to become *a Faithful Translator*, when he should have been only *a distant Imitator*, by *borrowing* the thought alone, *not adopting* the very words of his predecessor.

To shew the propriety of this interpretation, let us carry our thoughts on this subject a little farther, and draw a parallel, or two, from those arts which seem to bear a very close resemblance to this we are now speaking of: A translator may indeed in one sense be said to be only a meer copyist; for since he translates into another language, he is strictly bound, by the laws of fidelity and integrity, to render his original

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ginal into that language, as faithfully and closely, as the different idoms of the two languages will admit and allow of; and must endeavour to give his Translation as much the air and spirit of the original, as the meer copyist, who transcribes only the words of an author.

Now, instead of a translator, let us suppose the subject concerned either a statuary, or a painter; and that he had an original statue, or picture, delivered into his hands, of which he was to make a *Faithful Copy*, or a *Just Representation*: How would his performance be regarded, if, instead of expressing the air, the attitude, the colouring, and the features of the original, he had deviated from it in many considerable points; and returned the original home, together with his own performance, into the hands of the first possessors; the original indeed untouched, but his own performance so bedaubed with glaring colours, and bestuck with jewels, as to resemble it no more, than some eminent translations in our own language do their great originals both in Greek, and Latin.

The same remarks are full as applicable to a *Good Actor*; who certainly, like a *Faithful Translator*, will not look upon himself as at liberty to change, to alter,
and

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and leave out whatever expressions of the play he pleases ; much less to introduce new epithets of his own, during the time of his performance.

How far these reflections may be applicable to the following passages, and those of the gentlemen, who have preceded me on this subject, must be left to the determination of the reader alone ; with only this humble request, that he would not be content with comparing this translation with other translations, but all the translations with the original ; and then it is to be hoped the present performance will not give its author the least occasion to blush ; for he does here most seriously affirm, that if any of his predecessors had been more faithful in their translations, and adhered more closely to their original, than they have done, he would never have attempted *An Intire New Version*.

But to confess the truth, all the preceding translations of this Great Poet, which have hitherto appeared in our language, are all of them either so very vague, or else so very prolix, introducing allegories where Virgil has not made use of them ; and omitting them where he has ; altering many expressions, and forging others, which have no appearance in the original ; and in
5 short,

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short, transforming their works into such distorted figures, that it is scarce possible to know what parts of Virgil they answer to, even in those editions, which have the collated text printed on the opposite page; many instances of which will be pointed out hereafter; and therefore the reader is desired to suspend his censure on any part of the following quotations, till such time as he is acquainted with what the translator has to alledge in defence of those lines, among the Annotations which are made on those passages.

It is however time that something should now be said with regard to the other Purpose, intended to be answered by this little publication; it was, as I have already said in the beginning of this Introduction, with design to lay before the reader some very curious and entertaining quotations from a work of the greatest authority, I mean, THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS, translated by my learned and worthy Friend and Patron, the late Mr. *Spelman*; (whose memory I shall always revere) which work perhaps may not have come to the hands of those readers, who may do me the honour to purchase this little trifle.

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The conformity between these two great authors, the one the greatest *Poet*, and the other the greatest *Historian* in the Augustan age, whose works are come down to us, will appear the more conspicuous in the perusal of the following work ; which, if it should in any thing contribute to the reader's satisfaction, and merit his approbation, will fully answer all the wishes, and amply recompense all the aims of the author by this publication.

THE

T H E

VOYAGE OF ÆNEAS, &c.

ÆNEAS having related, in the second and third books of Virgil's *Æneid*, the manner in which the city of Troy had been taken by the Greeks, and after that calamity, the progress of his voyage from Troy to Sicily : it may perhaps be an agreeable amusement to the reader to peruse here at one view the different stages by which this hazardous undertaking was performed, stript of all the incidents which in a manner interrupted the track of his sailing, and interfered with the direct course which he pursued in transporting his colony of Trojans from Troy to Sicily, and from thence to Italy ; only observing at the entrance of this narration, that no antient author whatever, except Virgil, either poet or historian, makes any mention of Æneas being driven on the coast of Africa, or of his having been entertained at the court of queen Dido, who is supposed to have lived near three hundred years after this removal of the Trojans under Æneas
from

from Troy to Italy: But the omission of this adventure, which makes so great, and so beautiful an episode in the *Æneid*, will be no defect in this narration: and it is to be hoped that this attempt may prove the more entertaining, because it will carry on the journal successively, in one continued thread of history, and be supported all along by the concurrent testimony of those antient historians preserved by DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS, in the first book of his *Roman Antiquities*, Sections 46, etc. translated by my learned and worthy friend and patron the late Mr. Spelman, whose translation I shall make use of; and that too the rather, because it is universally allowed by all those, who have compared his versions with their Greek originals, that quoting his words in our own language, is the same thing as quoting the very words of Xenophon, Polybius, and Dionysius themselves.

Another great satisfaction that may arise from this attempt, will be the pleasure, which it may afford the reader in comparing the accuracy of the Poet and Historian; both living together in the same age, and in the same city, and probably searching the same records; both collecting the same materials; and both pursuing the same subject: so far I mean as relates to the planting a Trojan colony of Greeks in Italy.

The great object of Dionysius is to shew that the *Romans* were originally *Greeks*; and the great object of Virgil is to shew that the *Romans* were descended from the *Trojans*: But Dionysius has sufficiently proved already that the *Trojans* were *Greeks*; so that consequently the object of
of

of both is one and the same: Virgil deduces their origin more particularly from the line of Anchises; Dionysius deduces it from a much higher source: I shall therefore adopt only so much of the Greek historian, as relates to Anchises and Æneas; and since both *Virgil* and *Dionysius* affirm that Æneas, after the destruction of Troy, arrived in Italy through a long series of adventures, and there settled his posterity, I shall first relate the manner in which both the Poet and Historian describe the taking of Troy, and then I shall begin the narration with Æneas' sailing from Troy, after the destruction of that city by the Greeks, as it is related by Virgil, and support it by that account, which we find preserved by Dionysius.

Æneas then relates the taking of Troy in the following manner:

— — — — Harrafs'd with war, repuls'd
By fate so many years, the Grecian Chiefs
A Horse, of mountain size, by Pallas' aid
Construct, and of sawn fir its ribs compose;
This they pretend a vow for their return;
Such their report: Within its gloomy fides
Their choicest men they croud, and deeply fill
Its caverns huge and womb, with armed troops.

Æn. II. v. 13.

Which is thus related by Hellanicus, the author from whom Dionysius has preserved this account:

" Troy being taken by the Greeks, either
" by the stratagem of the wooden horse, as
Homer

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“ Homer sings, (and after him as Virgil has
 “ already sung) or by the treachery of the An-
 “ tenoridæ, or by any other means, the greatest
 “ part of the Trojans, and of their allies, then
 “ in the city, were slain in their beds: For it
 “ seems this misfortune happened to them in
 “ the night, when they were not upon their
 “ guard.”

’Twas when approaching sleep to wearied men *Æn. II.*
 Begins, and mild creeps on by gift of heaven. 268

And in the sixth Æneid, Deïphobus complains
 thus ;

Then was I laid, oppress’d with cares and sleep, *Æn. VI.*
 Upon my wretched bed, while soft repose 521
 Had shut my eyes, most like a pleasing death ;
 Mean time my worthy spouse had all my arms
 Removed, and from my pillow stol’n my sword ; 524
 Then Menelæus call’d, and oped the doors :
 Thinking no doubt that this would shew her love,
 And thus extinguish all her former crimes.
 Why need I more ? into my room they burst : — 528

“ But Æneas, and his Trojan forces, which
 “ he had brought from the city of Dardanus
 “ and Ophrynum, to the assistance of the Ilien-
 “ ses, and as many others as had early notice
 “ of the calamity, while the Greeks were taking
 “ the lower town, fled together to the strongest
 “ part of Pergamus, and possessed themselves
 “ of the citadel, which was fortified by a sepa-
 “ rate wall, and in which were deposited the
 “ holy things belonging to the religion of their
 “ country, together with a large quantity of
 “ money,

" money, as in a safe place, and here also was
" the flower of their army."

Perhaps this is that tower which our author
mentions in the Second Æneid ;

There was a porch and secret doors, pervious Æn. II.
Between the palaces, and backward left, 454
Through which, while Troy's sad kingdom yet remain'd,
Oft would Andromache unattended pass,
And young Astyanax to his grandfire lead ; 457
Through this I gain'd the battlements, from whence
The Trojans flung their ineffectual darts :
A lofty tower there stood, built very high 460
Above the town, from whence all Troy was wont
Be seen, the Grecian fleet and camp Achaïc ;
This we assail, where the low floorings gave 463
Weak joints, and from its deepest basis pluck,
And shove it down : that, falling sudden, brought
Ruin and noise ; and wide on Grecian troops 466
Tumbled : more come ; tho' stones and every kind
Of weapons never cease. 468

" There however for some time they repulsed
" the enemy, who were endeavouring to force
" their way into the citadel ; and falling out
" privately through the narrow passages, with
" which they were well acquainted, they secured
" the retreat of those who were escaping from
" the taking of the city ; the number of whom
" was greater than that of the prisoners : By
" this disposition, Æneas checked the first fury
" of the enemy, who designed to put all the
" citizens to the sword, and prevented them
" from taking the whole city by storm : But
" considering what was reasonably to be ex-
" pected, that it would be impossible to pre-
F " serve

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“ serve a city, the greatest part of which was
 “ already in the possession of the enemy,

(— Where’er the fire fails, the Greeks possess ;)

Æn. II. v. 505.

“ he thought of this expedient, which was
 “ to abandon the citadel to them, and save the
 “ people, the holy things belonging to the re-
 “ ligion of their country, and all the effects
 “ they could carry away with them : Having
 “ thus resolved, he first sent out the children,
 “ and the women, with the old men, and all
 “ such whose condition required much time to
 “ make their escape, with orders to take the
 “ road that leads to Ida ;

“ And you, my friends, attend to what I say ; Æn. II.

“ Without the gate’s a mount, and temple old, 713

“ Of Ceres ruin’d, an antient cypress near,

“ Long by our fathers’ pious care preserv’d : 715

“ By different routes we’ll join our parties there.”

“ while the Greeks, intent on taking the cita-
 “ del, would never think of pursuing the peo-
 “ ple who were escaping out of the city. One
 “ part of the forces he appointed to convoy
 “ those he had sent away, to the end that their
 “ flight might be as secure, and as little trou-
 “ ble some, as the present conjuncture would
 “ admit : These were ordered to take possession
 “ of the strongest part of mount Ida :”

— — — — when with a sudden peal Æn. II.

Is thundered on the left, and thwart the night 693

A star shot down, drawing a lucid train :

High o’er our palace, we beheld it glide,

from TROY to ITALY. 15

Till its bright beams were lost in Ida's grove, 696
Marking our way.

" With the rest, who were the choicest men,
" he staid upon the walls of the citadel; and
" while the enemy were diverted from the per-
" suit by assaulting the walls, he rendered the
" retreat of those he had before sent out the
" less difficult: But Neoptolemus with his
" men having gained the ascent to part of
" the citadel,

Æn. II.

Such war untamed, and Greeks in houses rushing
We saw, gates blockt up with form'd testudos; 441
To walls their scaling engines clung; some mount
The doors by steps: and with their left t' our darts
Their shields oppose; the roofs seize with their right:
Meanwhile the Trojans turrets, cover'd ridges, 445
Tear; with these arms (since they perceive their last)
Now at the point of death, they seek defence, 447
And gilded beams, our antient princes' pride,
Roll down; others the doors with gleaming swords
Blockade, and guard them with their numerous
troops. 450

And again a little farther,

Before the porch, and in th' entrance Pyrrhus Æn. II.
Brandish'd his sword; in brazen armour shone; 470
With him the mighty Periphas, Automedon, 476
Achilles' charioteer; the Scyrian troops
March to the palace, and fling their fire round: 478
Pyrrhus, snatching an ax, hew'd the strong gates,
And from their hinges tore the brazen posts;
The beams being cut, he rent the solid oaks, 481
And broke a mighty opening with broad orifice;
Th' interior rooms appear, long courts are seen,

F 2

The

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The domes of Priam and our antient kings, 484
 And armed centries standing at the doors ;
 Now th' inner rooms with groans and dismal plaints
 Resound ; the vaulted roofs with female shrieks 487
 Loud howl ; and clamor strikes the very stars ;
 Through every room the fearful matrons run,
 Embrace the pillars, and their kisses fix : 490
 With might paternal Pyrrhus fought ; nor gates,
 Nor guards avail ; by frequent rams the doors
 Fly off ; and posts, shockt from their hinges, tumble :
 A way is found by force ; the Greeks burst in,
 Kill all they meet, fill every place with troops : 495
 — — — — — I saw Neoptolemus 499
 Raging with war, and both th' Atridæ in the gate :

“ And all the Greeks supporting him, the town
 “ was abandoned ; and Æneas, opening the
 “ gates, through which the others had escaped,
 “ marched away with the rest in good order,
 “ carrying with him *in the best chariots* his father,
 “ and the gods of his country, *with his wife*
 “ and children, and such other persons and
 “ things as were most valuable.”

It must be confessed that the Historian has obtained a great advantage over the Poet in relating this circumstance ; for certainly it is much more agreeable to the nature of things, and more conformable to the decorum of princes, to suppose with Dionysius, that Æneas conducted his father, wife, and children from Troy to Mount Ida *in the best chariots*, than to suppose with Virgil that Æneas said,

Æn. II.

“ Come then, my dearest fire, and load my neck ; 707
 “ My shoulders press ; such weight will not aggrieve.”

And that when they left the city,

— my

— my *shoulders broad* and *neck* I spread Æn. II.
Over my vest, a tawny lion's skin; 722
And bore my load;

But in excuse for this, we find it often alledged, that it is the province of poetry to exalt low, and to depress sublime images, in some instances: Let it however be acknowledged that there is another point in this circumstance, in which the Poet has preserved the decorum of appearances, and has in his turn now obtained an advantage over the Historian; and that is concerning the disposal of Creusa, Æneas's wife, which Mr. Spelman owns is a point "Surprises him, that "Dionysius (or rather indeed Hellanicus) should "make Æneas at the embarkation forget his "wife; particularly as he had told us before "that he carried her, as well as his children and "his gods out of Troy: Virgil indeed, adds "Mr. Spelman, had a very good reason to dispose of Creusa before Æneas set sail; because "she would most certainly have been a very "inconvenient person, both in his amour with "Dido, and in his addressees to Lavinia:" And therefore to obviate this inconvenience, Virgil has taken care, at the close of the Second Æneid, to give us a particular account, that Creusa was not only dead, but appeared to her husband after her death, and foretold many incidents, which were to befall him;

Æn. II.
"Far must you go, large breadths of ocean cross;
"But shall *Hesperia* gain, where *Lydian Tiber* 781
"Through populous plains flows with a gentle stream:
"There happy days, a realm, and royal bride 783

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"Await you: mourn not for loved Creusa;
 "The haughty Myrmidons, or Delops proud, 785
 "I shall not see, nor wait on Grecian dames,
 "A Dardan, daughter to Venus." 787

But let us proceed with Dionysius: "In the
 "mean time," says he, "the Greeks took the
 "town by storm, and being intent on plunder,
 "gave those who fled an opportunity of escap-
 "ing with greater security: Æneas and his
 "people overtook their companions on the
 "road; and being now all together, they posted
 "themselves on the strongest part of Mount
 "Ida: They were joined not only by the in-
 "habitants of Dardanus, who seeing a great and
 "unusual fire break out at Troy, deserted their
 "town, and all went thither; except those, who
 "under Elymus and Ægeus, having prepared
 "some ships, had left it before, (as will be re-
 "lated hereafter;) but also by the inhabitants
 "of Ophrynum, and of the other Trojan cities,
 "who were desirous of preserving their liberty;
 "and in a very short time the numbers of the
 "Trojan forces were very much increased;

And here a mighty troop of comrades new Æn. II.
 I wondering find had joined us; men, women, 797
 And children, gather'd for flight; wretched band,
 From all parts come, with lives and fortunes ready 799
 To search what climes I might through th' ocean seek.
 On Ida's top now Lucifer arose, 801
 And led the day; the Greeks possess'd the gates;
 Nor any hope of succour now remain'd: 803
 I yield; and bearing off my fire, the mount ascend.

"Those who with Æneas had thus escaped
 "from

“ from the taking of the city, were during their
 “ stay there (on Mount Ida) in hopes of re-
 “ turning home, as soon as the enemy should
 “ sail away :

Æn. III.

When they should sail, if they should ever sail. 136

“ But the Greeks, having reduced to slavery
 “ the inhabitants both of the city, and of the
 “ neighbourhood, and demolished the strong
 “ places, were preparing to attack those also
 “ who were posted on the mountains : But the
 “ Trojans sending heralds to treat of a peace,
 “ and desiring they would not reduce them to
 “ the necessity of making war, they called a
 “ council, and made peace with them upon
 “ the following terms :

“ *That Æneas and his people should transport
 “ themselves, with all the effects they had saved
 “ in their flight, out of the territory of Troy,
 “ within a limited time ; and deliver up to the
 “ Greeks the places of strength ; And that, after
 “ they had left the country in pursuance of these
 “ terms, the Greeks should allow them a safe con-
 “ duct by sea and land, throughout all their do-
 “ minions.*

“ Æneas, having accepted these conditions,
 “ which he looked upon as the best the present
 “ conjuncture would admit of, sent away Asca-
 “ nius his eldest son, with some of the allies,
 “ the greatest part of whom were Phrygians,
 “ to the Dascylitic country, (a country in
 “ Bithynia, as is also the *Ascanian* lake, near to
 “ which stood Nicæa the capital of those parts,)
 “ he having been invited by the inhabitants to

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“ reign over them ; where he staid not long ;
 “ For Scamandrius, and the other Hectoridæ,
 “ who had been dismissed out of Greece by
 “ Neoptolemus, coming to him, he returned
 “ to Troy, in order to restore them to their pa-
 “ ternal kingdom. And this is all the account,
 “ that is given of Ascanius.” According to
 Hellanicus ;

But this is not all the account that is given of
 Ascanius by Dionysius himself, nor by Virgil ;
 at least if Ascanius and Iulus in that poet be
 one and the same person ; as we shall see in
 the prosecution of this narrative.

From this time, Æneas and his people began
 to build their fleet ; and Virgil begins his nar-
 ration of Æneas’ voyage from Troy in the very
 opening of the Third Æneid ;

Since heaven was pleased to sink the Asian state,	Æn. III.
And Priam’s guiltless race ; since Ilium fell,	2
And all Neptunian Troy smok’d in the dust,	
Far distant wandrings, and deserted realms	4
We are compell’d to seek : our fleet we fit	
Near mount Antandros’ self, and Phrygian Ide ;	6
Dubious where fates might bear, or settle us :	
Our friends we muster. — — — — —	8

“ As for Æneas, after his fleet was ready, he
 “ embarked with the rest of his sons, and his
 “ father, taking with him the images of his
 “ gods ;

— — — Scarce had the spring begun,	Æn. III.
When straight my sire Anchises bade us sail :	9
Weeping I leave my native shore, and port,	

And

And plains where Troy once stood ; a banish'd wretch
I go with friends, with son, with small and greater
gods. 12

The first country that they failed to was
Thrace, a neighbour state ;

Sacred to Mars a vast tract lies far off, Æn. III.
By Thracians till'd ; once stern Lycurgus sway'd. 14

“ for crossing the Hellespont, they failed to
“ the next peninsula, which lies before *Europia*,
“ and is called *Pallēnē* : ”

This peninsula indeed Virgil does not mention by name at present, but he has told us in his Fourth Georgic, that it is situate in *Emathia*, on the coast of *Thrace* ; for in speaking of Proteus, he says,

He now th' *Emathian bay*, his native seat Geo. IV.
Pallēnē, visits : — — — — 39

“ This country was inhabited by a Thracian
“ people named *Crusæi*, who were in alliance
“ with the Trojans, and had assisted them
“ during the war, with greater alacrity than
“ any of their confederates : ”

Æn. III.
Troy's antient friend, and join'd by kindred powers,
While fortune smiled : — — — — 16

The basis of this alliance had been long laid between the two states ; for it was to the court of Polymnestor, king of *Thrace*, that Priam sent his youngest son Polydore to reside, during the siege of Troy ; as we shall see presently ; in the mean time I shall only observe that
Æneas,

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Æneas, shortly after his landing upon this coast,
built his first town, with an intention no doubt
of settling a colony there ;

— — — hither I'm brought ; on shore Æn. III.
Lay my first walls, with adverse fates begun : 17
To heaven's great king a shining steer I slew : 21

And, during this sacrifice, Æneas went to a
small mound to pluck some branches to hide, or
overshadow, his altars ;

It chanced a mound was near, upon whose top Æn. III.
Some cornel shrubs and a rough myrtle grew, 23
Thick with sharp leaves ; thither I went to pluck
Some leafy branches to conceal my shrines : 25

And where he met with that extraordinary phæ-
nomenon of the bleeding boughs, which pro-
ceeded from the body of Polydore, king Priam's
son, whom

— — — — with a great mass of gold Æn. III.
Th' unhappy Priam secretly had sent
To *Thracia's* king, when now the arms of Troy 51
He 'gan diffide, his city leagured round :
That wretch, when he perceived our fortune sink, 53
Join'd with the foe, with Agamemnon join'd,
Broke through all laws, kill'd Polydore ; his wealth 55
By force seizes : — What prompt 'ou not men to,
Unrighteous thirst of gold ! — — — — 57

Dionysius says that “ they staid here the
“ winter season, and built a temple to Venus,
“ upon one of the promontories : ”

To *Dionæan Venus* then we offer, Æn. III.
And all the powers, to bless our enterprize : 20

“ and

“ and also a city named *Ænea*, the inhabitants
“ of which were called *Æneadae* ;

The name *Æneadae* from my name I form: *Æn.* III. v. 18.

“ where they left all those, who from fatigue
“ were not able to bear the sea, or chose to re-
“ main there, as in a country they were for the
“ future to look upon as their own: This city
“ subsisted to the time of the Macedonian em-
“ pire, under the successors of Alexander ; but
“ was destroyed in the reign of Cassander, when
“ Thessalonica was building ; and the inhabi-
“ tants of *Ænea*, with many others, removed to
“ the new built city.”

It is remarkable that Dionysius, (who seems at other times to be credulous enough of prodigies) should take no notice of this whole transaction concerning Polydore : And it is still more remarkable that Homer has given us a very different account of the death of this young prince, who lost his life wantonly, towards the close of the Twentieth Iliad, v. 407, where he says that he fell by the hand of Achilles :

Αὐτὰρ ὃ βῆ σὺν δ' ἔρι μεί' ἀνιθεὺν Πολυδάροιο,
Πριάμειδ' ἦν· Τονδ' ἐλὶ πᾶν ἔεισε μαχεσθαι,
Οὐνεκα οἱ μὲν πᾶσι νεώτατος ἔσκε γονοίοι,
Καὶ οἱ φιλότατος ἔσκε, ποδῶσσι δ' ἑπ' ἀνίας ἐνικαί·
Δὴ τότε νηπιέησι ποδῶν ἀρέην ἀναφαιών,
Οὐνε διὰ προμαχῶν, εἰς φίλον ὤλεσε θυμόν.

Then on fair Polydore he rush'd with spear,
Priamides, whose fire forbade him fight,
Because of all he was his youngest born,
And much beloved ; and all excell'd in speed :
But then in youthful ardour boasts his flight ;
And rush'd to war, till his dear life he lost.

These

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These two accounts differ very widely ; and therefore what makes it the most remarkable of all is, that Virgil, in the former account, should choose to follow Euripides in his *Hecuba*, v. 700, (whatever authority he had for that narration) rather than adhere to Homer, the great director and guide to him in all other affairs relating to the Trojan war.

But Virgil continues his narration, and says, before they departed from thence,

To Polydore we raise a tomb, and heap Æn. III.
Earth on the mound, and altars rise t' his shade, 63
With azure fillets crown'd and cypress sad ;
And Ilian dames, with hair, as usual, loose ; 65
Then cups with warm milk foaming we pour forth,
And bowls with hallow'd blood : thus we compose
His soul, and with loud voices bid our last Farewel ! 68

Having thus performed these funeral obsequies,

When we could trust the waves, and winds had smooth'd
The deep, and gentle Auster call'd to sea, Æn. III. 70.
Our friends the navy launch'd, and fill'd the shore ;
We leave the port : and land and towns retire. 72

From hence, that is, from *Thrace*, they sailed to *Delos*, a large and pleasant island in the *Ægean sea* ; “ From *Pallênē*,” continues Dionysius, “ the Trojans sailed to *Delos*, Anius being then “ king of that island :”

A pleasant isle is dwelt amid the sea, Æn. III. v. 73.
Sacred to Doris, and *Ægean* Neptune ;
Which floating once round coasts and shores, the pious
Bow-bearer with *Mycônē* tall, and *Gýarōs* fix'd, 76
And gave it to be dwelt unmoved, and brave the winds :
Hither I steer ; this port delightful held us
Fatigued : Landed, we Phœbus' town revere : 79

King

King *Anius* here, both king and Phœbus' priest,
His brows with fillets and with laurel bound, 81
Met us, and his old friend Anchises knew;
We join our social hands, and to their houses go. 83

"Here," Dionysius says, "many monuments of
"the arrival of Æneas and the Trojans were to
"be seen, while this island was inhabited, and
"flourished." And here, Virgil says, they received that remarkable oracle;

'That land, brave Dardans, which your fires first bore,
'Again shall bear you on its fertile glebe Æn. III. 95.
'At your return: *Your antient mother seek*;
'There shall Æneas' race all borders sway 97
'And sons' sons rule, and those from them derived.'

The misinterpretation of which oracle cost them so dear in the end; for Anchises, mistaking the sense of this oracle, supposes that it pointed out *Crete* for the place of their fixt abode, and having given this interpretation,

This said, due victims at the shrines he slew; Æn. III.
A bull to Neptune, to thee a bull, Apollo, 119
To storms a black, to zephyrs a white lamb:

and this religious ceremony being performed, they immediately set sail from *Ortygia*, which is only the antient name of *Delos*,

Æn. III.

We leave *Ortygia's* ports, and stand to sea; 124

and made the best of their way to *Crete*: (this island is now called *Candia*.) But before we bring them to this island, it will be proper to observe that Dionysius takes notice of an incident, which is not recorded by Virgil, namely, that "being arrived at *Cythera*, another island
"lying

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“ lying off Peloponnesus, they built a temple
 “ there to Venus: While they were on their
 “ voyage from *Cythēra*, (now called *Cerigo*) and
 “ not far from Peloponnesus, one of Æneas’s
 “ companions, by name *Cinaethus*, died; whom
 “ they buried upon one of the promontories,
 “ which from him is to this day called *Cinaethion*:
 “ And having renewed their affinity
 “ with the Arcadians, concerning which I shall
 “ treat afterwards; and staid a short time in
 “ these places, where they left some of their
 “ people, they came to *Zacynthus*.”

Here Dionysius has made a wide gap in this voyage, or at least in the geographical parts of it, which is amply supplied by Virgil; who says, that the Trojans, after they set sail from *Ortygia*, or *Delos*, passed by

Bacchanall’d *Naxos*, and *Donysa* green, Æn. III.
Olēares, snowy *Paros*, and the *Cyclades*, 126
 Strew’d round the main, and seas with isles thick sown.

and having sailed through this cluster of islands, they came within sight of *Crete*; upon which,

A naval shout with various contest rose; Æn. III.
 My mates are chear’d; *Crete* and our fires we seek: 129
 A gale now rising from the poop pursues us:
 At length we made the antient shore of *Crete*. 131

Here they were no sooner landed, than looking upon this country as the place of their abode, they began to build them a city;

Eager I raise my long desired walls, Æn. III.
 And call them *Pergamus*; thus pleased I chear
 My friends to love their homes, and build a fort. 134

Nay

Nay so confident were they of settling on this island, that they drew their fleet on shore, as having now no farther use for them;

Æn. III.

Now scarce our ships laid up, the youth were busy
In chusing wives, and plowing the new soil ; 136
I gave them laws, and homes. — — —

But, to convince them that this island was not to be their settlement,

— — — — sudden a plague Æn. III.
From an infected climate seized our men, 138
Blighted the trees, the corn, and made a deadly year ;
Some lost their lives, some languid bodies drag'd ; 140
Then Sirius fierce burn'd up the barren lands ;
Grass shrunk ; and food the blasted corn denied : 142

In this afflicted condition they knew not what steps to pursue : Anchises therefore, as the best method, advised them to dispatch a messenger back again to reconsume the oracle at *Delos* :

My fire bade search again th' *Ortygian* shrine, Æn. III.
Re-plow the waves, and pray forgiveness there ;
What end would Phœbus give to all our woes ; 145
Where we should seek relief, and whither bend our course.

Before the messenger could return, Æneas it seems had a vision, which told him, that he must

— ' Change these seats ; Apollo never meant Æn. III.
' These shores, nor order'd you to fix at *Crete* : 162
' A land there is, the Greeks *Hesperia* call,
' An antient soil, for arms and glebe renown'd ;
' Th' *Oenotrians* dwelt it ; but the moderns now 165
' Have

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- ‘ Have named it *Italy*, from it’s leader’s name : 166
- ‘ These are our lasting seats ; thence Dardānus sprung ;
- ‘ Iāsius thence, from whom our race descends.’ 168

Æneas having related this vision to his father and his friends, Anchises immediately acknowledges that

Æn. III.

He knew the ambiguous stock, and double race;
Deceived by late mistake of antient realms : 181

For we have lately seen that he mistook the purport of the oracle at Delos ; and had deduced his origin from *Teucer*, a *Cretan*, instead of deducing it either from *Dardānus*, or *Iāsius*, *Italians* ; but now he recollects himself, and says,

— — “ O son, inured to Trojan fates, Æn. III.

“ Cassandra sole such sad disasters sung ;

“ Now I perceive she meant these realms our own ; 184

“ And oft *Hesperia*, oft *Italia* named ;

“ But who could then surmise that Trojans should 186

“ T’ *Hesperia* sail ? or who Cassandra trust ?

“ Then Phœbus let’s obey, and better fates pursue.”

Thus he advised : — — — — — 189

and all immediately consent to leave this island of *Crete* ;

Æn. III.

Crete too we quit, and leave a colony small :

Our sails then hoist ; our navy skims the main. 191

As soon as they lost sight of *Crete*, they met with a storm, which lasted for Three days ;

Scarce were the ships at sea, nor any more Æn. III.

The land appear’d, but skies and seas around, 193

When

from TROY *to* ITALY. 29

When a dread squall hung gather'd o'er my head,
Bringing on night, and storms, and blackening waves ;
Immediately the winds disturb the deep, 196
Raise mighty billows, and disperse our ships ;
Squalls hid the day, and rains the heavens obscured ;
From the rent clouds the lightnings frequent flash'd ;
We lose our course, and drive 'mong gloomy waves :
Nor night nor day could Palinurus see, 201
Not e'en himself his reckoning keep 'mid waves :
Thus for three doubtful days in dismal gloom
We rove the main ; as many starless nights : 204
On the fourth morn the land at length arose,
Display'd the hills to view, and vapour roll'd ;
Our sails we lower'd, and each oar applied ;
The straining failors lash'd the azure deep : 208
Preserved from waves, the shores of *Strophades*
Received me first ; these isles are named from Greece,
Isles in the vast *Ionian*. — — — — — 211

Here it was that on one of these islands they met with that very poetic adventure of the Harpies, which makes so agreeable a part of the Third Æneid; and which concludes with that astonishing and tremendous denunciation pronounced by Celæno, queen of the Harpies;

" You steer for *Italy*, *Italy* shall you gain, Æn. III.
 " And enter with a prosperous wind that port; 254
 " But then you shall not wall your promised city,
 " E're famine dread, in vengeance for our wrongs,
 " Shall force you to *devour your plates*, gnawn with your
 " teeth." 257

In what manner this dreadful prophecy was fulfilled, we shall see in the course of this voyage; for the present, the Trojans were so terrified, that they immediately deprecate the
G horrid

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horrid fate; and particularly Anchises, in these words,

Æn. III.

“ Ye heavens, forbid these threats, avert these ills,
 “ And gracious spare a pious race.” He said; 266
 Then ordered us to weigh, and loose the flowing sheets:
 The south-winds stretch our sails; we skim the waves,
 And steer as friendly winds and pilots call: 269
 At sea *Zacynthos*, woody isle, appears.

At this place, the stream of our authorities, which has been so long separated, is here again united; for now Dionysius assures us that the Trojans, “ having renewed their affinity with “ the Arcadians, at the promontory of *Cinaethion*, and staid a short time in those places, “ where they left some of their people, they “ came to *Zacynthus* (now called *Zante*) the *Zacynthii* also received them in a friendly manner, “ on account of their consanguinity; (for Dardanus, the son of Jupiter and Electra the daughter of Atlas, had as they say by Batea two sons, “ *Zacynthus* and *Erichthonius*; of whom one “ was the Ancestor of Æneas and *Zacynthus*, the “ founder of the island;) in memory therefore of “ this consanguinity and by reason of the kindness of the inhabitants, they staid here some “ time; and being also detained by stormy “ weather, they offered up a sacrifice to Venus “ in a temple built by themselves; which to “ this day the *Zacynthii* perform in common; “ and also celebrate games, consisting, among “ other exercises, of a course to be run by young “ men, in which he who comes first to the “ temple gains the prize; this is called the “ course

“course of Æneas and Venus; and statues are
“erected there to both of them.”

This looks as if these games were instituted by Æneas and his people; if so, we may imagine them to be the same with those which the Trojans celebrated on the coast of *Actium*; but tho’ there appears some difference between them, as we shall see presently in Virgil, yet they were undoubtedly alike in both places; in the mean while, we are to observe that there is some difference in the accounts of these two journalists; difference I mean only in this respect, that Virgil seems to have kept a more perfect reckoning; for here again Dionysius brings them from *Zacynthus* to *Leucas*; but if we pursue the more exact journal of the poet, we shall find that sailing from *Zacynthus* they passed by

Dulichium, *Samē*, and craggy *Neritōs*; Æn. III. v. 271.

We *Ithāca*’s rocks avoid, *Laertian* realms,

And brand the coast that dire Ulysses bore. 273

It is true indeed they did not touch at any of these places, which perhaps may be the reason why the historian did not take any particular notice of them; and therefore mentions *Leucas*, as the next place they arrived at; for says he, “standing out to sea, they came to *Leucas*, the place being yet in the possession of the *Acar-nanes*: Here also they built a temple to *Venus*, which stands in the little island that lies between *Dioryctus*, and the city: it is called “the temple of the Ænean Venus.”

It was no doubt in this temple of Venus, and

not in the temple of Apollo, as Mr. Addison has asserted in his 223d Spectator, that despairing Lovers used to make their vows in secret, and afterwards to fling themselves from the top of the precipice into the sea, whence they were sometimes taken up alive : "If the reader," adds he, in another paper 227, "has a mind to know both the island, and the promontory by their modern titles, he will find in his map the ancient island of Leucas under the name of St. Mauro, and the ancient promontory of Leucate under the name of the Cape of St. Mauro : " He is undoubtedly right with respect to the situation of this temple ; though perhaps not so with respect to the person to whom it was dedicated ; which is a circumstance that might have been overlooked, had he not persisted in the 233d paper to ascribe it still to *Apollo* ; whereas we find here by Dionysius that it was dedicated to *Venus* ; which makes it the more probable, that those despairing Lovers, who came to this place with a resolution of taking that dangerous leap from off this promontory to cure themselves of their malady, should first of all repair to, and offer up their vows in the Temple of *Venus*, than in that of *Apollo* ; this mistake however is the more excusable, since we find from Virgil that there actually was a temple dedicated to *Apollo* on the promontory of *Actium*, which is close by Leucate ; though Virgil seems to have looked upon these two places as one and the same ; whereas Leucate is an island, and Actium a promontory of the main land of Acarnania ; but Virgil's words are ;

Then

from TROY to ITALY. 33

Then soon *Leucæ*'s cloudy heights we made; *Æn.* III.
Apollo's fane opens, by sailors fear'd; 275
 This place we gain, and visit this small town:
 From prows the anchors drop, the poops surround the
 shore:

Now at last landed on the wish'd-for beach, 278
 To Jove we rites renew; the altars blaze.
Ætium we celebrate with Ilian games; 280
 Their native wrestlings, rubb'd with slippery oil,
 Our naked champions try; pleas'd they had 'scaped
 So many Grecian towns, and sail'd mid foes. 283

These games may seem to be different from those just now mentioned by Dionysius, and which he says were celebrated by the Trojans at *Zacynthus*; but are really not so; for though Dionysius mentions only *Running*, and Virgil mentions only *Wrestling*; yet Dionysius says, *among other exercises*; so that we may suppose them both alike, only performed at different places, and that they consisted of all those kind of exercises, which were used on such occasions. If we may be allowed at this distance of time to form any judgement on the authorities of these two great writers, it seems the more probable to suppose that Virgil has the strongest on his side for the celebration of these games on the coast of *Ætium*, namely that

The sun mean while rolls on the circling year, *Æn.* III.
 And icy winter vex'd the sea with storms: 285

It seems therefore I say reasonable to suppose that these games were celebrated in this place to commemorate the anniversary of their leaving the coast of Thrace; nor at the same time

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is it unreasonable to suppose with Dionysius that they likewise had performed those other games, for their happy meeting with, and arrival among the *Zacynthii*, their friends and allies, who as Dionysius observes were nearly related to the Trojans: But it is remarkable that Dionysius makes no mention of their celebrating any of these exercises, during their stay on the coast of *Actium*; all that he says being only this, " From *Leucas*, they sailed to "*Actium*, their fleet lying at anchor off a promontory of the *Ambracian bay*; and monuments of their arrival are left at this place, namely the temple of the *Ænean Venus*, and near to it, that of the Great Gods: This town, says Mr. Spelman, is now called *Figolo*, and stands at the mouth of the *Ambracian gulph*, known now by the name of *Golfo de Larta*: Opposite to *Actium* Augustus built a town, which he called *Nicopolis*, in memory of that signal victory he obtained off that place by the conduct of Agrippa, against his infatuated rival Marc Antony:"

This victory was gained in the Year of Rome 723, on the Fourth of the Nones of September, that is, the Second of the same month with us: Augustus likewise instituted *Games* to be performed in memory of this victory; but upon some account or other it seems they were not celebrated till about Three years after, namely in the year of Rome 726, in which year Augustus was for the Sixth time, and Marcus Agrippa for the Second time, Consuls; and it is something very observable, as Ruæus imagines,

imagines, that Virgil arrived at this part of his work about this very time, namely in the year of Rome 726; and therefore he has very judiciously introduced Æneas, and his Trojans, as celebrating their games in memory of their having escaped from the midst of their enemies, and about this time completed the anniversary of their departure from Troy or Thrace; and in this, the poet has very artfully alluded to those games instituted by Augustus to be celebrated on the coast of *Actium* in memory of his victory, and at the same time paid this handsome compliment to the emperor.

“*Ambracia* retains its old name, with a small variation, being now called *Ambrakia*.”

Before we leave this place, we shall find it celebrated for another monument of the arrival of the Trojans, recorded by Virgil, namely,

Of hollow brass a buckler, Abas' weight, Æn. III.
I fix'd to fronting doors, and thus inscribed:
‘*These spoils Æneas from victorious Greeks.*’ 288

All things being now ready for departure, they set sail,

Æn. III.
Then bade them leave the port, and ply their oars;
They emulous lash the deep, and stem the flood: 290
Soon we lose sight of tall *Phœacia*'s rocks,
And coast *Epirus*' shores; then moor'd i'th' bay 292
Chaonian, and to *Buthrôtum* high ascend.

Dionysius likewise brings them immediately from *Ambracia* to *Buthrôtum*: “From *Ambracia*,” says he, Anchises with the fleet, sailing near the
G 4 “shore,

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“shore, came to *Butbrötum* (now *Butrinto*)
“a sea port of *Epirus* :”

Here fame incredible surpris'd our ears ;	Æn. III.
That Priam's Hëlënus ruled Grecian towns,	295
Succeeding Pyrrhus in his bed and throne ;	
And that Andromache had again espoused	297
A Trojan lord : With ardent love I long'd	
To greet the prince, and learn from him the change :	
My fleet I left, and from the harbour went.	300

We have a confirmation of this account from Dionysius, who says that “ Æneas, with the
“ ablest men of the army, in two days marched
“ to *Dodōna* to consult the oracle :” (Virgil seems to think it was done at *Butbrötum*, at least he makes no mention of *Dodōna* :) “ There
“ they found the Trojans who had come thither
“ with Hëlënus : and having received answers
“ concerning their colony, and among other
“ Trojan offerings, dedicated brazen cups,
“ some of which are still extant, and by their
“ inscriptions, which are very ancient, shew by
“ whom they were given, they joined their
“ fleet, after a march of about four days.”

Virgil has given us a far more particular detail of their consulting the oracle, and as he has delivered the whole account by the mouth of Hëlënus, we are to suppose either that the consultation was transacted at *Butbrötum* ; or else that Hëlënus accompanied Æneas to *Dodōna* ; or else, which indeed seems the most probable, that Hëlënus himself lived at *Dodōna*, and was both prince and priest of that city and temple ; for Virgil makes Æneas address him in these words :

“ Trojan

from TROY to ITALY. 37

- “ Trojan interpreter, who know’st the will Æn. III.
 “ Of Phœbus, tripods, Clarian laurels, stars, 360
 “ The notes of birds, and omens of swift wing,
 “ Tell me.” — — — — — 362

and Hēlēnus himself performs the sacrifice;

Æn. III.

Then Hēlēnus, having slain th’ accustomed steers,
 Implored the heavenly powers; the fillets loosed 370
 Of his blest head, and led me, Phœbus, to thy shrines,
 Deeply suspended with thy influence: 372
 And thus the priest from his prophetic soul began.

He then begins to direct him in the whole course
 of his voyage to *Italy*; describes the intire
 track of his sailing; gives him this most certain
 omen, when he shall have found the land de-
 signed by fate;

Æn. III.

- “ When you shall pensive find near a dark stream,
 “ Beneath a scarlet oak upon the shore, 390
 “ A large white sow with Thirty young ones laid,
 “ The dam and farrow white, around her teats; 392
 “ There shall you build, for there your labours end:
 “ Nor let the future eating plates affright you; 394
 “ The fates will find a means, and Phœbus when in-
 voked:”

he then proceeds in his directions, and advises
 him not pass through the straights of *Scylla* and
Charybdis, but rather to double the whole island
 of *Sicily*, and then steer away for the *Tiber*; and
 as soon as he should arrive on the coast of *Italy*,
 to consult the *Cumæan Sibyl*; and concludes the
 whole with encouragements, and presents, which
 are

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are kindly resented with sincere good wishes, and firm resolutions to maintain a constant and mutual friendship and alliance;

Now leaving these with rising tears I spoke: Æn. III.
 " Farewell, ye happy, now whose lot's fulfill'd, 493
 " Whilst we must wander still from fate to fate,
 " You are at peace; no seas have you to roam; 495
 " Nor seek *Ausonia's* ever shunning coasts;
 " Here you behold th' epitome of Troy, 497
 " Which your own hands have rais'd for better fates,
 " (I hope) and less obnoxious to the Greeks:
 " If *Tiber's* flood, and *Tiber's* field I gain, 500
 " And e'er behold my promised nation rise,
 " These cities long allied, this kindred race, 502
 " Both from *Epirus* and *Hesperia* sprung,
 " Dardânus their founder, and the same their fate,
 " We'll join both Troys in one; that care our sons
 employ." 505

As soon as they had taken leave of each other,

Near to *Ceraunia's* neighbouring shores we sail; Æn. III.
 From whence to *Italy* the course is short. 507

" From *Buthrôtum*, continues Dionysius, they
 " sail'd close to the shore, and came to a haven,
 " which was then called *The haven of Anchises*,
 " but now its name is more obscure." (Cassau-
 bon has with great learning and sagacity, says
 Mr. Spelman, shewn that this haven, the name
 of which Dionysius says was become obscure,
 was not *Cassiope*, but *Anchesmus*; which he
 confirms by a passage in one of Cicero's letters
 to Atticus, where he says, *Brundisium venimus*
 VII. kal. Decemb. usque tuâ felicitate navigandi:
 Ita

Ita belle nobis flavit ab Epiro lenissimus *Anchesmites*.) “Where also they built a temple to Venus; and then crossed the *Ionian sea*, having for guides in their navigation, some who accompanied them of their own accord.” These were the friends of Hēlēnus; for we find by Virgil that,

He added horses and pilots. — — Æn. III. 470

“and took with them Patron the Thurian and his men; the greatest part of whom, after the army was safely arrived in *Italy*, returned home; but Patron with some of his friends, being prevailed on by Æneas to ingage in the colony, staid with them. When Æneas arrived on the coast of *Italy*, continues Dionysius, his people did not all go ashore at the same part, but most of them landed at the *Cape Iapygia*, which was then called the *Salentine cape*; (it is now called, *Capo di S^a Maria de Leuca*;) The rest disembarked at a place called *Minervium*, where Æneas himself landed in *Italy*.” (It stood to the North of the *Cape Iapygia*, and was called by the Romans *Castrum Minervæ*, *Ara Minervæ*, and *Minervium*, and now *Castro*;) and here also, as Mr. Spelman observes, Æneas lands in Virgil:

— — — — — the port now seem’d Æn. III.
More near; *Minerva’s* fane stood on a rock:
Our sails we furl’d, and turn’d our prows to shore. 531

The harbour is thus described by Virgil,

By th’ Eastern waves a port bends in an arch; Æn. III.
The

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The fronting cliffs foam with the briney spray ; 534
 Itself retired : the towering rocks their arms
 Stretch down a double fence ; the fane's from shore.

and thus by Dionysius : “ This is a promon-
 “ tory that forms a harbour in the summer,
 “ which from that time is called the *Haven*
 “ of *Venus*. After this, continues the same
 “ historian, they sailed along the shore, to
 “ the straight, (of *Sicily*) having *Italy* on
 “ one hand, (the right,) and in these places
 “ also left some traces of their arrival.”

It may appear strange that Æneas should
 visit the temple of *Minerva*, and in that tem-
 ple address himself to *Juno*, and make her an
 offering, when both those powers had been so
 remarkably employed in the destruction of
 Troy : But Virgil tells us that all this was per-
 formed according to the direction and advice
 of *Hēlēnus*, who laid this injunction on him
 in the strongest terms ;

“ Besides, if *Hēlēnus* has any skill, Æn. III.
 “ If faith, if *Phœbus* fills my soul with truth, 433
 “ This only thing, my friend, this only point,
 “ I will premise, again, again repeat : 435
 “ First then with prayers great *Juno*'s power revere ;
 “ To *Juno* freely chaunt ; that powerful queen 437
 “ Vanquish with gifts, then victor shall you sail
 “ From hoarse *Trinacria*'s shores for *Italy*: 439

and accordingly we find that this direction was
 here in this place punctually complied with ; for
 as soon as they came to *Minervium*,

— — — — — Then we implored Æn. III.
Pallas all arm'd, who first received our joy : 544
 and

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And *Caulon's* cliffs, shipwrecking *Scylacæum*; 553
 Then far at sea *Trinacrian Ætna's* seen;
 Vast roar of ocean, and the beaten rocks 555
 We hear from far, and broken noise on shore;
 The shallows heave, and sands commix with waves:
 Anchises cries, "This is that *Charybdis*, 558
 " *Hēlenus* these rocks, these dreadful cliffs described;
 " Sheer off, my friends, rise strongly on your oars." 560

He then proceeds to give a particular description of that astonishing volcano, Mount Ætna, and of that most wonderful adventure of Achæmenides, and the Cyclops, and then taking that unfortunate Greek on board with them, they sail from that part of the coast; and

Lo Boreas blew, from *straight Pelorus* sent; Æn. III.
 We pass'd *Pantagia's* mouths with natural rocks 688
 Inclosed; next *Megaris' bay*, and *Tapsus* low:
 These coasts now Achæmenides described, 690
 Resailing back, once dire Ulysses' mate:
 In the *Sicanian bay* an island lies, 692
 'Gainst rough *Plemmyrium*, once *Ortygia* call'd;
 Hither from *Elis' realm Alphæus* rolls
 His hidden waves beneath *Sicilian* seas, 695
 And, *Arethusa*, now unites his stream with thine:
 As order'd we implore the native powers:
 Then steer past rich *Helorus' stagnant fens*: 698
 Hence the high cliffs of long *Pachynus' cape*
 We coast; and what fate will'd should ne'er be drain'd,
 Foul *Camarina's fens*; *Gelous' plains*, 701
 And *Gela* large, so from that river call'd:
 Thence lofty *Atrægas* displays from far
 Its mighty walls, once breeder of war-steeds: 704
 Thee too we leave, palmy *Selinus' isle*,
 And coast the dangerous *Lilybeian shores*:

Hence

from TROY to ITALY. 43

Hence *Drepānum's* port, and melancholy coast
Receives us. — — — — — 708

At this port we are to make some stay; and here it is that the Trojans met with that melancholy accident already hinted at, for here it is that, as Virgil relates, the death of his father Anchises happened;

— — Here, by such numerous tempests tost, Æn. III.
Alas! I lose my fire, each care's relief, 709
Each fate, Anchises; here, fire, you desert
Your wearied son, yourself how vainly saved! 711
Not prophet Hēlēnus though many ills he told,
Presaged this heavy loss; no nor fury Celæno. 713

This mournful event, which has rendered the port of *Drepānum* for ever memorable, has been almost passed over in silence by Dionysius, for he has but just mentioned the death of Anchises: He has however given us so interesting an account of those Trojans, who settled in *Sicily*, before Æneas arrived at that island, that it may deserve our attention: "When Æneas and his
" fleet came near to *Sicily*, says that great His-
" torian, whether they had any design of land-
" ing there, or were forced from their course
" by tempests, which are common in these
" seas, they disembarked at that part of the
" island, which is called *Drepānā*: Here they
" found the Trojans, who with Elymus, and
" *Ægestus*," (or as Virgil calls him *Acestes*,

— — In *Sicily* we've towns and arms, Æn. I.
And brave *Acestes* sprung from Trojan race:) 554

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“ had left Troy before them, and who being
 “ favoured both by fortune and the winds,
 “ and at the same time not overburdened with
 “ baggage, had a quick passage to *Sicily*, and
 “ were settled near the river *Crinēsus*, in
 “ the country of the *Sicāni*, who out of
 “ friendship had bestowed the land upon them,
 “ by reason of their relation to *Aegeſtus*, who
 “ had been bred in *Sicily* by the following
 “ accident: One of his ancestors, a man of
 “ diſtinction, and of Trojan extraction, being
 “ upon ill terms with *Laomedon*, the king
 “ ſeized him for ſome reaſon, and put him to
 “ death, and with him all his male children,
 “ leſt he ſhould ſuffer ſome miſchief from them;
 “ but thinking it unbecoming him to put his
 “ daughters to death, as they were yet virgins,
 “ and unſafe to ſuffer them to marry any of the
 “ Trojans, he delivered them to ſome mer-
 “ chants, with orders to carry them to the moſt
 “ diſtant country: They were attended in their
 “ voyage by a noble youth, who was in love
 “ with one of the two virgins, whom he mar-
 “ ried, as ſoon as ſhe arrived in *Sicily*, and
 “ during their ſtay among the *Sicēli*, they had
 “ a ſon, whoſe name was *Aegeſtus*,

Whom a fair Trojan near *Crinīſus*' flood *Æn.* V. v. 38.
 Produced; — — — — —

“ and who, having learned the manners and
 “ language of the inhabitants, after the death
 “ of his parents, *Priamus* being then king of
 “ Troy, obtained leave to return home; and
 “ having aſſiſted him in the war with the Greeks,
 “ while

“ while these were employed in taking the city,
 “ he sailed back again to *Sicily* (as we have
 “ already been told;) being accompanied in his
 “ flight by Elymus, with the three ships which
 “ Achilles had with him when he plundered
 “ the Trojan cities, and which by their striking
 “ upon some hidden rocks he had lost. *Æneas*
 “ finding these men here, shewed them great
 “ kindness, and built two cities for them, called
 “ *Ægesta* and *Eryx*,” according to the advice
 of Nautes, after the disaster of losing four of
 their ships by fire ;

When Nautes old, whom sole Minerva taught, *Æn. V.*
 And by her powerful art had made renown'd, 705
 This counsel gave, both what the wrath of heaven
 Portends, and what the fates themselves require ; 707
Æneas then he mildly thus bespoke :

“ O Prince, where fates call and re-call let's go :
 “ Each fate by perseverance is subdued : 710
 “ You have *Acestes* here your royal friend,
 “ Take his advice, which he will freely give :
 “ Leave those with him, who mann'd your vessels
 burnt,
 “ And those regardless of your enterprise ; 714
 “ The aged men, and wearied matrons too,
 “ And all hands useless, or this danger dread,
 “ Select, and thus fatigued, here let them build,
 “ And give their town *Acestes'* licensed name.” 718

“ Where he left some part of his army ; which
 “ I imagine, continues *Dionysius*, he did by
 “ choice, to the end that those who were tired
 “ with fatigue, *or otherwise disliking the sea*,
 “ might enjoy rest, and a safe retreat: But some
 “ write that the loss of part of his fleet, which

H

“ was

“ was burnt by some of the women, (as Virgil
 “ has related at length in the Fifth Æneid)
 “ who were dissatisfied with wandering, obliged
 “ him to leave those behind who belonged to
 “ the ships that were burnt, and for that reason
 “ could sail no longer with their companions.”

“ There are many monuments of the arrival
 “ of Æneas and the Trojans in *Sicily*; but the
 “ most remarkable are the altar of *the Ænean*
 “ *Venus*, placed on the summit of mount *Eryx*;

Thus a new realm near *Eryx*' lofty mount Æn. V.
 Rose to *Idalian Venus*; — — — — — 760

“ and a temple dedicated to *Æneas* in *Aegesta*;
 “ the first being erected by Æneas himself to
 “ his mother; and the temple, by those left there
 “ by the fleet, who consecrated it to the me-
 “ mory of their deliverer.”

But here we find a considerable difference
 in opinion between these two great authors,
 with regard to this temple; and if we may pass
 any judgement in a point of such antiquity,
 there seems to be a greater probability on the
 side of Virgil, namely, that Æneas erected
 an altar in honour to his mother, and a temple
 in honour to his father Anchises, who was but
 lately dead,

— — — — — a priest, Æn. V.
 And hallow'd grove is added to *Anchises*' tomb. 761

Another point, which deserves some attention,
 and which the historian takes no notice of, is
 that Æneas and his companions, together with
 the

the inhabitants of the island, celebrated *Funeral games* in honour to his father Anchises; and it was at the time of this celebration that the Trojan women took the opportunity of setting fire to the fleet; by which accident, though the whole was in danger of being destroyed, yet it seems there were only Four which perished intirely;

— — now all the fire's extinct, and all Æn. V.
The ships, except Four lost, are from the ruin saved. 699

However, having soon repaired this misfortune,

The rest repair their ships, and half burnt decks Æn. V.
Refit, and all their oars and sails renew: 753

and having feasted each other,

Nine days both nations having spent in feasts, Æn. V.
And rites observed; soft gales now smooth'd the deep,
And freshening Auster gently call'd to sea; 764
Now loud laments arose through all the coast,
And days and nights each other they detain; 766
The matrons, too, and those to whom but now
The sea was rough, and such an odious sound,
Would go, and share the perils of a voyage; 769
Whom good Æneas with mild words exhorts,
And weeping gives them to Acestes' care:
Three calves to Eryx, to the Storms a lamb
He slew; then bade the cables each be loosed; 773
Himself, his brows with olive branches bound,
High-placed a goblet held, and in salt waves
The inwards cast, and pour'd the liquid wines: 776
A rising gale blew fresh upon the poop;
Eager they lash the deep, and stem the briney flood: 778

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“ Æneas and his companions leaving *Sicily*
 “ crossed the *Tyrrhene sea*, and came first to a
 “ port of *Italy*, called *Palinurus*, which they
 “ say took its name from one of the pilots of
 “ Æneas, who died there:” And Mr. Spelman
 observes “ that when Virgil said,

Æn. VI.

“ The place shall be for ever *Palinurus* call’d ;” 381

“ he spoke like a prophet, as well as a poet ; for
 “ this place is still called *Palinuro*, and the
 “ Cape, *Capo di Palinuro*.” This pilot, accord-
 “ ing to Virgil, was drowned on the coast of
 “ *Italy*, as he makes *Palinurus* himself relate
 “ the accident of his death in the Sixth Æneid:

“ For lo the tiller, torn with sudden jerk, Æn. VI.

“ Which once I ruled, and steer’d our destined course,

“ I bore away : By the rough waves I vow, 351

“ Not for myself was I so much concern’d

“ As, left your ship, her helm and steersman lost,

“ Should founder in those vast tumultuous seas : 354

“ For three tempestuous nights o’er boisterous waves

“ The storm had driven me on ; scarce on the fourth 356

“ Had I made *Italy* from the topmost surge ;

“ Slowly I swam to shore, now safely gain’d ; 358

“ When lo, a barbarous crew, wet as I was,

“ And seizing on the rocks with grappling hold, 360

“ Slew me, and stupid hoped a mighty prey.”

“ After that, says *Dionysius*, they came to
 “ an island, which they called *Leucōsia* (now
 “ called *Licōsā*) from a woman who was a rela-
 “ tion of Æneas, and died at that place:”

Virgil makes no mention of this event ; but in-
 stead of this, he has mentioned another, which

Dionysius

Dionysius has omitted, namely, that as soon as Æneas came to *Cumæ* on the Western coast of *Italy*, he went to the *Cumæan Sibyl*, to consult with her concerning the farther progress of his voyage :

At length he touch'd *Eubœan Cumæ's* coasts : Æn. VI.
 They turn their prows to sea ; with biting flocks
 The anchors hold their ships ; the bending poops 4
 Cover the shores : the seamen brisk leap forth
 Upon th' *Hesperian* land : — — — — 6
 Meanwhile Æneas to *Apollo's* rocks,
 O'er which he reigns, near the dread *Sibyl's* cave
 And spacious cell, repairs, whose mighty soul 11
 The *Delian* prophet fills with fates to come :
 Now *Trivia's* grove, and golden gates they pass : 13

This visit, and the consequence of it, I mean her attending Æneas in his adventure down to the *Elysian* fields, takes up the whole Sixth Æneid : But, before he enters upon that hazardous attempt, he meets with a mournful accident, which the *Sibyl* had foretold ;

“ But lo, a worthy friend, untimely lost, Æn. VI.
 “ (Alas, you know it not) pollutes your fleet, 150
 “ While here you tarry, and attend your fate ;
 “ First bury him, and in a tomb inclose :” — — 152
 Æneas then with downcast looks and sad, 156
 Departs and leaves the cell ; the dark events
 Revolves within his breast ; *Achates* too 158
 Attends his steps, and forrowing walks along :
 Much converse they together held ; what friend
 Untimely lost the priestess meant, whom now 161
 They must entomb,—when they *Misēnus* saw,
 Soon as they came to shore, unfortunate drown'd ;
Misēnus famed, than whom superior none
 To rouse the hosts, and fire the war with sounds. 165

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Dionysius likewise says, “ that when they
 “ failed from *Leucōsia*, they came to an anchor,
 “ in a deep and beautiful haven of the Opici,
 “ which from *Misēnus*, a man of figure, who
 “ also died there, they called by his name.”
 After the obsequies of *Misēnus*, Æneas sails to
 the island *Prochytā*, and from

Thence to *Cajēta’s* port directly steers : Æn. VI. 900
 Thou too, *Cajēta*, great Æneas’ nurse, Æn. VII. 1
 Dying, hast left these shores a lasting fame ;
 Here lives your memory ; this tomb preserves
 Your name in Italy, if that an honour be. 3

“ They named these places, says Dionysius, in
 “ the same manner, desiring they should serve
 “ as Monuments of the women who died there,
 “ of whom one, (*Leucōsia*,) is said to have been
 “ a relation of Æneas, and the other, (*Cajēta*,)
 “ his nurse.”

First then around *Circæan* shores they coast ; Æn. VII.
 Where Sol’s rich daughter in remotest groves 11
 Attunes her constant lay, and in her court
 Burns fragrant cedar for her nightly lamp, 13
 Whilst her swift shuttle threads the slender warp : — —
 And here Æneas from the sea descried 29
 A mighty grove, through which fair *Tiber’s* stream
 With rapid course, and tinged with yellow sand,
 Rolls to the main. — — — — 33

“ At last they arrived at *Laurentum* in Italy,
 “ says Dionysius, where coming to the end of
 “ their wandering, they threw up an intrench-
 “ ment ; and the place where they incamped
 “ is from that time called *Troy* : It is distant
 “ from the sea about four stadia.”

Thus

Thus we have brought the reader, as Æneas brought his colony, safe to the end of this long voyage; for here their labours end, this is the period of their sailing, this is the happy harbour, after all their toils: And, as Dionysius says, “ I was under a necessity of relating these things, and of making this digression, since some historians affirm that Æneas did not even come to Italy with the Trojans.”

But this is a point which has been so fully, and so satisfactorily established, in a learned Dissertation, *Concerning the Arrival of Æneas in Italy*, written by Mr. Spelman, and placed at the end of the first book of Dionysius's Roman Antiquities, that I must desire leave to refer the reader to that agreeable and entertaining performance: Only observing that the objection against the arrival of the Trojans in Italy is of very ancient date, since we find by Dionysius, that “ Some affirmed it was another Æneas, not the son of Anchises and Venus; others, that it was Ascanius, the son of Æneas; and others, that they were some other persons. There are, who pretend that Æneas, the son of Venus, after he had settled a colony of his people in Italy, returned home again, was king of Troy, and dying left his kingdom to Ascanius his son, whose posterity enjoyed it for a long time: These are in my opinion deceived by mistaking the sense of Homer's verses: For in the Iliad he represents Neptune, (Virgil ascribes it to Apollo, *Æn.* iii. v. 97.) foretelling the future splendor of Æneas, and his posterity, in this manner,

“ On great Æneas shall devolve the reign,

“ And sons succeeding sons the lasting line sustain.

POPE.

“ Thus, supposing Homer knew these men
 “ reigned in Phrygia, they invented the return
 “ of Æneas; as if it were not possible that, if
 “ they lived in Italy, they should reign over
 “ Trojans: But it was not impossible that he
 “ should reign over those Trojans he had car-
 “ ried with him, though settled in another
 “ country: However, other reasons also may
 “ be given for this mistake:” For the present,
 let these already produced by this great historian
 suffice; and let us pursue this narration a little
 farther, for it would in a manner be closing
 this subject abruptly, and leaving it unfinished,
 if we were only to bring the Trojans upon the
 coast of Italy, and just acquaint the reader
 that they came to the end of their voyage,
 without we were likewise to acquaint him with
 the manner in which they settled themselves in
 this country, and the different events which befell
 them, before they could properly say that they
 were firmly fixed in their promised seats and
 dominions.

“ The reason then, says Dionysius, why the
 “ Trojan fleet sailed no farther into Europe,
 “ is to be attributed to the oracles, which
 “ were fulfilled in these parts: For, while their
 “ fleet lay at anchor off *Laurentum*, and they
 “ were encamped near the shore, first the men
 “ being oppressed with thirst, and there being
 “ no water in the place, (what I say, I had from
 “ the inhabitants) springs of the sweetest water

“ were

“ were seen rising out of the earth spontaneously, of which all the army drank, and the place was overflowed, till the stream ran down to the sea from the springs, which at this time are not so high as to overflow; but there is a little water contained in a hollow place, which the inhabitants say was consecrated to the sun; and near it two altars are to be seen, one to the east, the other to the west, both of Trojan structure, upon which, they say, Æneas offered up his first sacrifice in acknowledgement for the water.”

Such confirmations as these, might be looked upon at the time of Dionysius to have been sufficient for his own satisfaction, concerning the reality of this event; nay even to this very time, they may be esteemed sufficient by the present inhabitants of that country, since Italy continues, even to this very day, as fertile in false miracles, as it possibly could have been in the time of their Pagan ancestors; but in an age, and country, where such kind of prodigies have long since ceased, these kind of evidences may scarce be allowed sufficient to withstand the objections which may be raised against them: But what may deserve our greatest admiration, is, that such a man as Dionysius must have been, a man, as may be shewn from his works, whose heart was as pure as his mind, and whose only fault, (though not a fault in him, if the prejudices of religion may not be accounted a fault) was a credulous and superstitious bigotry to the religious fables of his age; that such a man should not have reflection and
judge-

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judgement enough to pass over, and neglect such weak and glaring improbabilities, as he too often admits into the body of his history, which is too worthy to be disgraced and disfigured with such trifling and insignificant legends, may appear to us a matter of real wonder.

But, to return to our subject ; and proceed to the accomplishment of an oracle, as we find it related by Virgil : We have already found that the Trojans, during their stay at the *Strophades*, were terrified with a heavy denunciation made against them by *Celano*, queen of the Harpies ; and we have seen likewise the encouragement that Hælenus gave them against that denunciation, namely,

“ Nor let the future *eating plates*, affright ; Æn. III.

“ The fates will find a means, and Phœbus when invoked.”

395

The solution of this oracle now approaches, for,

Æneas, and the chiefs, and young Iulus Æn. VII.

Were all reclined beneath a spreading tree 108

To dine, their biscuits laid upon the turf ;

(For so had Jupiter himself ordain'd,)

Their *wheaten plates* scarce fill'd with homely fare : 111

These when consumed, it chanced that he began

Through lack of viands to devour the cake,

And hurt with hands and boldest teeth the round 114

Of the dread crust, nor e'en to spare the bread :

“ *Lo, we devour our very plates ;*” Iulus cried ;

Nor hinted more. That joyful sound declared 117

The period of their toils : warm from his lips

His father caught the word, and ponder'd in his breast ;

Then said immediate, “ Hail, thou land, decreed ! 120

“ And

- “ And you, he cries, Trojan Penates, Hail!
 “ Here is our home, our country : Anchises
 “ (For I remember now) bequeath’d these signs ; 123
 “ When you, my son, on foreign shores arrived,
 “ Famine shall force *to eat your very plates,*
 “ Then hope to find repose ; and there observe 126
 “ To build your first abode, and ramparts raise :
 “ This was that *famine*, this, which last remain’d
 “ To terminate our woe.” 129

Confirmed thus by Dionysius : “ After the
 “ miracle (of the water springing spontaneously)
 “ above related, while they were at dinner upon
 “ the ground, many of them strewed parsley
 “ under their victuals, instead of a table ; but
 “ others say they made use of *wheaten cakes*,
 “ that they might eat with greater cleanliness :
 “ When all the victuals that were laid before
 “ them were eaten, one of them eat of the
 “ parsley, or cakes, that were laid under their
 “ victuals, and then another ; and one of
 “ Æneas’s sons, as it is said, or some other
 “ of the company, happened to say, *Behold,*
 “ *we have eaten even the table !* As soon as they
 “ heard this, they all cried out with joy, that
 “ the first part of the oracle was now fulfilled:
 “ For a certain oracle had been delivered to
 “ them, as some say in *Dodōna* ; but, as others
 “ write, in *Erythræ*, a town near mount Ida,
 “ where lived a Sibyl of that country, a pro-
 “ phetic nymph, who ordered them to sail
 “ westward, till they came to a place, where
 “ they should *eat the tables* : (But Virgil, as
 “ we have seen, says it was at one of the *Stro-*
 “ *phædes*, and delivered by *Celæno* :) When
 “ they

“ they found this had happened, they should
 “ follow *a quadruped*, as their guide, continues
 “ the oracle, and wherever the animal, spent
 “ with fatigue, laid itself down, there they
 “ should build a city. Calling to mind there-
 “ fore this prophecy, some by the order of
 “ Æneas brought to the place appointed by
 “ him, the images of the gods out of the ship ;
 “ others prepared pedestals and altars for them ;
 “ and the women with shouts and dancing ac-
 “ companied the images ; and Æneas with his
 “ companions, when the sacrifice was ready,
 “ stood round the altars with crowns on their
 “ heads.”

“ Now the libation pour to Jove, and call Æn. VII.
 “ Upon my fire, and on the tables place your spoops :”
 He said, and crown'd his brows with verdant wreaths. 135

The first part of the oracle, as Dionysius ob-
 serves, was thus accomplished : The second, ac-
 cording to Virgil, is thus related in the be-
 ginning of the Eighth Æneid ; for while Æneas
 was laid asleep on the banks of the *Tiber*, the
 genius of the river appeared to him, and in a
 prophetic manner declared, that as soon as he
 should awake, and proceed along the banks of
 this river, he should find

A large white sow beneath a scarlet oak, Æn. VIII.
 With *Thirty young ones* stretcht upon the ground, 44
 The dam and farrow *white*, around her teats :
 Here shall you build, for here your labours end. 46

These words our author had before put into
 the mouth of Hēlēnus, in the Third Æneid,
 v. 390 ;

v. 390 ; so that we may be assured this is no idle repetition, but we are to suppose that Æneas, as soon as he heard these words repeated, immediately referred himself to that oracle, which he had before received from Hēlēnus : And accordingly, as soon as he arose, he dispatched some of his friends to inspect the country.

“ Come then — — — — — Æn. VII.

“ The country, natives, and the cities round 131

“ Let us explore, and hence take different routes :”

and having addrested himself to that genius,

— — — A sudden prodigy was seen ; Æn. VIII.

A milk white sow, with all her farrow white, 82

Stretcht in the grove, along the verdant shore ;

Which good Æneas, Juno great, to thee

Offers, with all her young ones, at thy hallow'd shrine. 85

This was looked upon as the happy omen that gave them full possession of the destined land ; and is likewise confirmed with some additional circumstances by Dionysius, who says that,

“ While the Trojans were offering up their
 “ prayers (for the joyful accomplishment of the
 “ former part of the oracle) *the Sow*, which was
 “ the destined victim, being big with young,
 “ and near her time, when the priests were
 “ beginning the immolation, broke loose, and
 “ flying from those who held her, ran up
 “ into the country : Æneas, understanding this
 “ was certainly the guide the oracle had pointed
 “ out, followed it, with a few of his people,
 “ at a small distance, fearing lest being dis-
 “ turbed

“ turbed by her pursuers she might be fright-
 “ ened from the course, fate had prescribed to
 “ her: The sow, having gone about four and
 “ twenty stadia from the sea, ran up a hill,
 “ where being tired she lay down. But Æneas,
 “ for the oracles seemed now to be fulfilled,
 “ observing the land to be barren, and at
 “ a distance from the sea, where even the
 “ road was unsafe, found himself in great per-
 “ plexity, whether they ought, in obedience to
 “ the oracle, to settle there, where they were
 “ to lead a life of perpetual misery, without
 “ any enjoyment, or go farther in search of a
 “ better soil. While he was in this considera-
 “ tion, on a sudden he heard a voice, which
 “ came from a wood, the person who uttered
 “ it not appearing, by which he was command-
 “ ed to *stay there, and build a city immediately;*
 “ *and not, by giving way to the uncertainty of*
 “ *his present opinion, that he was going to settle in*
 “ *a barren country, to reject his future, and in a*
 “ *manner present happiness: For it was decreed*
 “ *that, issuing forth from this barren and small*
 “ *habitation, he should in process of time acquire a*
 “ *spacious and fertile country, and that his children*
 “ *and posterity should be masters of a vast empire,*
 “ *which should last for many ages: That for the*
 “ *present therefore this city should be a retreat for*
 “ *the Trojans; but that, after as many years, as*
 “ *the sow should bring forth young ones, another*
 “ *large and flourishing city should be built by his*
 “ *posterity.”*

“ It is said, that Æneas hearing this, and
 “ looking upon the voice as something di-
 “ vine,

“ vine, did as he was commanded : But others say, that while he was oppressed with anxiety,

When you shall *pensive* find, etc. Æn. III. v. 389

“ and had so far abandoned himself to grief,
 “ as neither to come into the camp, nor take
 “ any nourishment, but laying himself down
 “ to rest that night where it overtook him, a
 “ great and wonderful phantom appeared to
 “ him in his sleep, in the shape of one of his
 “ household gods, and gave him the advice
 “ just before mentioned. The next day it is
 “ said the sow brought forth *Thirty young ones* ;
 “ and that, according to the oracle, *as many*
 “ *years after*, another city was built by the
 “ Trojans, concerning which I shall speak presently.

“ Æneas sacrificed the sow, with her young,
 “ to his household gods, in the place where now
 “ stands the wooden hut, which the Lavinienſes
 “ look upon as holy, and preserve it inaccessible
 “ to all but themselves.”

The reader is not to esteem this long narration, as an account altogether insignificant and immaterial, for it seems there is more weight in it, than what he at first imagines ; he is therefore to look upon it as bearing a very close connexion with many branches of ancient history : Let us then proceed to examine this event, not with the scruples of a modern objector, who may be prejudiced against narrations of this kind, but with the religious regard of an antient observer of these incidents, which were in those times supposed never to happen without
 some

some particular oracle, command, or prophecy : In short, whatever opinion may at present be formed concerning this uncommon event, certain it is from history that it gave rise to two very remarkable incidents, namely, *the period* for building a city ; and the giving a *name* to that city : As to the *period*, we find that the *Thirty young ones* denoted *Thirty years*, which intervened between the building of *Lavinium*, and *Alba Longa* : And as to the *name* of that city, we find that the *White sow*, and her thirty *White farrow* alluded to the name of *Alba Longa*.

Here an English translator finds himself labouring under one of those unavoidable difficulties arising from the different idioms of different languages, which plainly shew him that it is impossible to preserve, what the genius of his language will not suffer him to preserve ; as may be seen upon quoting this passage, as it appears in Virgil :

Littoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus fœsus,	Æn. VIII.
Triginta capitum fœtus enixa jacebit,	44
Alba solo recubans, Albi circum ubera nati ;	
Hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum :	46
Ex quo Ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis,	
Ascanius clari condet cognominis ALBA M.	48

Such instances need not often occur ; and even when they do occur, it ought to be some relief, that other languages labour under the same disadvantage ; and it gives me some relief to find Dionysius himself struggling under the same difficulty ; for thus he has related this event.

“ The *Thirtieth* year after the building of
 “ Lavinium, Ascanius, the son of Æneas, ac-
 “ cording

“ cording to the oracle, given to his father, built
 “ another city, and transferred both the inha-
 “ bitants of Lavinium, and the other Latines,
 “ who were desirous of a better habitation, to
 “ his new built city which he called *Αλβα*,
 “ which word signifies in Greek, *Λευκη*, *White*:
 “ And, to distinguish it from another city
 “ of the same name, an epithet was added
 “ to it, taken from its figure, and it is now
 “ called *Alba Longa*, a name compounded of
 “ both, that is *Λευκη Μακρά*. This city is now
 “ uninhabited; for when Tullus Hostilius was
 “ king of the Romans, she, seeming to con-
 “ tend with her colony for the sovereignty, was
 “ demolished; and Rome, having destroyed
 “ her mother city, received its inhabitants. But
 “ these things happened in after-times. *Alba*
 “ stood between a mountain, and a lake, which
 “ served as fortifications to the city, and ren-
 “ dered it difficult to be taken; for the moun-
 “ tain is extremely strong and high; and the
 “ lake deep and large, which when the sluices
 “ are opened is received by the level; the inha-
 “ bitants having it in their power to husband
 “ the water, as they think proper: The plains
 “ below the city are beautiful to the eye, and
 “ rich in the produce of all sorts of fruits, in
 “ no degree inferior to the rest of Italy, parti-
 “ cularly of what they call the *Alban wine*,
 “ which is sweet, and of a beautiful colour;
 “ and, except the *Falernian wine*, certainly ex-
 “ cells all others.”

But it must be confessed that in giving this
 account of *Alba*, we have in some measure trans-
 gressed on the due order of events; we are at

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present engaged with Æneas and his Trojans in the building of *Lavinium*; which stood not far from the banks of the *Tiber*; it may therefore be proper, before we take our leave of Virgil, to quote his description of their arrival at the mouth of that river, in the beginning of the Seventh Æneid, where he mentions the grove, through which *the Tiber* flowed,

— — — around it various birds, Æn. VII.
That love to skim along the river's banks,
Charm'd all the skies, and flew within the grove : 34
Thither he bids to steer, and turn their prow
To shore, and joyful leads them up the shady stream. 36

Here Virgil finishes the Voyage of Æneas; for after this, there is no more sailing, with regard to the removal of his people to any other place of settlement; and after this, Virgil relates the wars, the alliances, and the difficulties, which Æneas met with, before he could establish his colony in the quiet possession of their destined land; and concludes his whole work with the battle of Laurentum, and the single encounter between Æneas and Turnus, in which Turnus is killed; and his death concludes the Æneid: beyond which encounter we know nothing of Æneas from Virgil. Then let us pursue the thread of his history a little farther with the help of Dionysius, who will relate these adventures more minutely and more circumstantially, than the poet has done, and mention others which have been intirely omitted by Virgil, and bring the period of this history down to the death of Æneas himself, and of his son Ascanius: Dionysius therefore says that, " Æneas, " having offered up the sow and her young, " ordered

“ ordered the Trojans to remove their camp to
“ the hill, and placed the images of his gods in
“ the best part of it, and immediately began
“ to build the town, (called afterwards *Lavinium*) with the greatest alacrity; and going
“ down to the country round him, took from
“ thence such things as were of use to him in
“ building; the loss of which was likely to be
“ the most grievous to the owners, such as iron,
“ timber, and instruments of agriculture.

“ In the mean time *Latīnus*, who was then
“ king of the country, being at war with a
“ neighbouring people, called the *Rūtūli*, and
“ having fought some battles with ill success,
“ received an account of what had passed, in
“ the most terrifying manner, as, if he did not
“ immediately put a stop to their depredations,
“ the war with his neighbours would become
“ the more grievous to him. *Latīnus* was struck
“ with this news, and laying aside all thoughts
“ of the present war, he marched against the
“ Trojans with a great army: But, seeing them
“ armed after the Grecian manner, drawn up
“ in good order, and prepared to receive him
“ with resolution, he did not think it prudent
“ to hazard an immediate engagement, since he
“ saw no probability of defeating them at the
“ first onset, as he had expected, when he first
“ marched out against them: But incamping
“ on a hill, he found it convenient to recover
“ his troops from their present fatigue, which
“ from the length of their march, and the eager-
“ ness of their pursuit was very great; and he
“ resolved, after he had passed the night there,
“ to attack the enemy by break of day. Hav-
“ ing

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“ ing taken this resolution a certain genius
 “ of the place appearing to him in his sleep,
 “ ordered him to *receive the Greeks as coha-*
 “ *bitants with his own subjects* ; adding that
 “ *their arrival would be attended with a great*
 “ *advantage to him, and a common benefit to the*
 “ *Aborigines.*”

Related thus with a small variation by Virgil ;

Latīnus hence, searching the oracle, Æn. VII.
 Offer'd in form an hundred two-year ewes, 93
 And spread upon their skins all night laid down ;
 When from the deepest grove a voice is heard : 95
 ‘ Seek not to wed your child with Latin lords,
 ‘ Descendant dear, trust not th’ intended rites ;
 ‘ A foreign son appears, sprung from our blood, 98
 ‘ Who’ll raise your name unto the stars, whose sons
 ‘ Shall see all things subdued beneath their feet,
 ‘ Where’er the rolling sun both oceans views.’ 101

“ The same night Æneas’s household gods
 “ appearing to him, advised him to *persuade La-*
 “ *tīnus to grant them a settlement of his own ac-*
 “ *cord in that part of the country they desired,*
 “ *and to use the Greek forces rather as allies,*
 “ *than as enemies.* However the dream hinder-
 “ ed both of them from beginning an en-
 “ gagement. As soon as it was day, and the ar-
 “ mies were drawn up in order of battle, heralds
 “ came to the commanders from both, desiring
 “ that these might have a conference together,
 “ which was complied with. And first, ‘ La-
 “ tīnus complained of the sudden war they had
 “ made upon his subjects, without any previous
 “ declaration ; and desired Æneas would let him
 “ know who he was, and what he meant by
 “ plundering the country without any provoca-
 “ tion,

tion, since he could not be ignorant, that all who are attacked have a right to repel the invader: And that, when he might have obtained, in a friendly manner, and by the consent of the inhabitants, whatever he could reasonably desire, he had chosen to take it by force, contrary to the right of all nations, and with greater dishonour, than credit to himself.

“ After he had said this, Æneas answered, We are natives of Troy, a city famous among the Greeks, of which being deprived by the Achæans, after a ten years war, we wander up and down, through the want both of a city and country, where we may live for the future; and we are come hither in obedience to the commands of the gods; the oracles assuring us that this land alone is reserved for us, as the haven of our wandering. We have lately taken from the country those things we wanted, with greater regard indeed to our unfortunate situation, than to decency, which we very much condemn: But we will compensate them with many good services, in yielding to you our persons and our minds, well disciplined against dangers, to employ them as you think proper, in preserving your country from the incursions of enemies, and in assisting you with alacrity to conquer theirs. We humbly intreat you not to resent what we have done, assuring yourselves that we did it, not through contempt, but necessity; and every thing that is involuntary deserves forgiveness; so that you ought not to take any resolution to the prejudice of us who are your suppli-

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‘ants : If you should, we must beg the tutelary gods and genius’s of this country to forgive us what we are even compelled to do, and endeavour to defend ourselves against you who are the aggressors in this war, which will not be the first, nor the greatest we have been engaged in.’

“ When Latīnus heard this, he made answer : I can assure you I have great benevolence towards the Greek nation in general ; and the inevitable calamities of mankind give me a real concern.

(Not strange to ill, I learn to help the wretched.) *Æn.* I. 634

‘ I should be very solicitous for your preservation, if I were convinced that you came hither in search of a habitation ; and that, contented with a share of the land, and enjoying what is given you in a friendly manner, you will not endeavour by force to deprive me of the sovereignty ; and if the assurances you give me are real, I desire to give and take sureties, which will preserve our league inviolate,’

“ Æneas having accepted this proposal, a treaty was made between the two nations, and confirmed by oath, to this effect :

‘ *That the Aborigines should grant to the Trojans as much land as they desired, that is, the space of about forty stadia round the hill : That the Trojans should assist the Aborigines in the war they were then engaged in, and join them with their forces upon every other occasion, when summoned : And that both nations should aid one another, to the utmost of their power, as well with their assistance, as advice.*

“ After

“ After they had concluded this treaty, and
 “ secured the performance of it by delivering
 “ their children as hostages, they marched their
 “ joint forces against the cities of the Rūtūli,
 “ and having soon subdued all opposition there,
 “ they went to the town of the Trojans, which
 “ was half finished, and hastening the work
 “ with one mind, they fortified the town with
 “ a wall: This town Æneas called *Lavinium*,
 “ as the Romans themselves say, from the
 “ daughter of Latīnus, whose name accord-
 “ ing to them was *Lavinia*: But as some Greek
 “ historians have asserted, from the daughter of
 “ Anius, king of *Delos*, whose name was also
 “ *Lavinia*, and who dying of sickness, while
 “ the first city was building, and being buried
 “ in the place where she died, the city was so
 “ called in memory of her; she is said also to
 “ have embarked with the Trojans, and to have
 “ been given by her father to Æneas at his de-
 “ sire, as a prophetess, and a wise woman.”

Of these two opinions, the former seems to
 be the more probable; at least, Virgil has a-
 dopted it, for he tells us that in the league
 formed between the two nations, Æneas binds
 himself by a solemn oath that,

“ I'll neither bid th' Italians stoop to Troy; Æn. XII.

“ Nor realms seek for myself: with equal laws 190

“ Both nations unsubdued shall form their leagues:

“ I'll religion give: Father Latīnus rule, 192

“ And wear the crown: My Trojans build for me

“ Their walls; and fair *Lavinia* give the city name.” 194

“ While *Lavinium* was building, these pro-
 “ digies are said to have happened to the Tro-
 “ jans: A fire breaking out spontaneously in an

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“ adjoining wood, a wolf they say brought some
 “ fuel in his mouth, and threw it upon the fire ;
 “ and an eagle flying thither fanned the flame
 “ with the motion of his wings : In opposition
 “ to these, a fox having moistened his tail in
 “ a river, endeavoured to extinguish the fire ;
 “ and sometimes those that were kindling it pre-
 “ vailed ; and sometimes the fox that was try-
 “ ing to put it out ; and at last the former got
 “ the better ; and the other went away unable
 “ to do any thing farther : Which Æneas ob-
 “ serving, said, This colony would become
 “ famous, be worthy of admiration, and very
 “ much celebrated ; but in its increase would
 “ be envied by, and grievous to its neighbours ;
 “ however that it would overcome its adver-
 “ saries ; the favour of heaven being more pow-
 “ erful to support it, than the envy of men to
 “ oppress it.

“ These were the evident signs of the inci-
 “ dents that were to happen to this city ; of
 “ which there are monuments now standing in
 “ the market place of the Lavinienſes ; these
 “ are brazen images of the animals ; which
 “ have been preserved for many ages.

“ After the city of the Trojans was built, both
 “ nations were extremely desirous of enjoying
 “ the mutual benefit of their new alliance ; and
 “ their kings set the example, and mixed the
 “ dignity of the native and foreign families by
 “ a contract of marriage ; Latīnus giving his
 “ daughter Lavinia to Æneas ; after which, the
 “ rest also had the same inclination with their
 “ kings ; and by a swift union of their customs,
 “ their laws, and religious ceremonies ; by inter-
 “ mar-

“ marriages, and a communication of the rites
 “ of their cities; by mingling all together; and
 “ by calling themselves *Latines* from *Latīnus*
 “ king of the Aborigines, they adhered so firmly
 “ to their league, that no time has yet severed
 “ them from one another. The nations therefore
 “ which were gathered together under one form
 “ of government, and from whom the Roman
 “ people derive their origin, before the city they
 “ now inhabit was built, are these: First the *A-*
 “ *borigines*, who drove the *Sicēli* out of these parts,
 “ and were Greeks, originally of *Peloponnesus*,
 “ the same who with *Oenotrus* removed from the
 “ country now called *Arcadia*, according to my
 “ opinion: Then the *Pelasgi*, who came from
 “ *Hæmonia*, as it was then called, now *Thessaly*:
 “ Thirdly *those* who came over into Italy with
 “ *Evander* (king of *Arcadia*) from the city of *Pal-*
 “ *lantium*: After these, the *Epei*, and *Pheneatae*,
 “ who were part of the Peloponnesian army
 “ commanded by Hercules, with whom some
 “ Trojans also were mixed: And last of all,
 “ the *Trojans*, who with *Æneas* had escaped
 “ from *Ilium*, *Dardānum*, and other Trojan
 “ cities.

“ That the Trojans were a nation truly Greek,
 “ which formerly came from Peloponnesus, has
 “ been long since asserted by some authors, and
 “ shall be briefly related by me also: The ac-
 “ count concerning them is this; *Atlas* was the
 “ first king of the country now called *Arcadia*,
 “ who lived near the mountain now called
 “ *Thaumasius*; this man had seven daughters,
 “ said to be placed among the stars, by the
 “ name of the *Pleiades*; one of whom Jupiter
 “ married,

“ married, and had by her two sons, *Iafius*, and
 “ *Dardānūs* : *Iafius* lived unmarried ; but *Dar-*
 “ *dānūs* married *Chryses*, the daughter of *Pa-*
 “ *las*, by whom he had two sons, *Idæus* and
 “ *Dimas*, who succeeding *Atlas* in the kingdom,
 “ reigned sometime in *Arcadia* : Afterwards,
 “ a great deluge happening in *Arcadia*, the
 “ plains were overflowed, and for a long
 “ time incapable of being tilled : The people
 “ (for, as they lived upon the mountains, they
 “ laboured under a great scarcity of provisions)
 “ considering that the land that remained would
 “ not be sufficient for the support of them all,
 “ divided themselves into two parts, one of
 “ which staid in *Arcadia*, and created *Di-*
 “ *mas*, the son of *Dardānūs*, their king ; the
 “ other left *Peloponnesus* on board a nu-
 “ merous fleet, and sailing along the coast of
 “ *Europe*, they came to a gulph, called *Melas*,
 “ and happened to land on a certain island of
 “ *Thracia* ; but I am not able to say whether it
 “ was before inhabited, or desert ; They called
 “ this island *Samothrace*, a name compounded of
 “ the name of a man, and of that of the place ;
 “ for it belongs to *Thrace*, and the founder of
 “ it was *Samon* the son of *Mercury* and of a
 “ nymph of *Cyllēnē* called *Rhēnē*. Here they
 “ staid not long, because they found them-
 “ selves under great difficulties with regard to
 “ their support, as having a barren land, and
 “ a boisterous sea to contend with ; but leaving
 “ some few of their people there, the greatest
 “ part of them removing again, went to *Asia*,
 “ *Dardānūs* being the leader of their colony,
 “ (for *Iafius* died in the island, being struck
 “ with

“ with thunder for desiring to go to bed to
 “ Ceres;) and disembarking in the straight now
 “ called the Hellespont, they settled in that
 “ country, which was afterwards called *Phrygia*.
 “ *Idæus* the son of *Dardānūs* with part of the
 “ army inhabited the mountains, which from
 “ him are called the *Idæan mountains*, where he
 “ built a temple to the mother of the gods, and
 “ instituted mysteries and ceremonies, which are
 “ observed to this day throughout all *Phrygia* ;
 “ and *Dardānūs* built a city of the same name
 “ with himself in a country now called *Troas*,
 “ *Teucus* who was king of it giving him the
 “ land, from whom that country was antiently
 “ named *Teucris* : Many authors say, and par-
 “ ticularly *Phanodemus*, who writ the *Attic*
 “ antiquities, that this man came into *Asia* from
 “ *Attica*, where he was chief of the division
 “ called *Xypete* ; and of this they bring many
 “ proofs : They add, that being master of a
 “ large and fertile country, and but thinly peo-
 “ pled, he was glad to see *Dardānūs* and the
 “ Greeks who came with him, in hopes both
 “ of their assistance in his wars against the *Bar-*
 “ *barians*, and that the land might not be un-
 “ cultivated.

“ But it is now requisite to shew how *Æneas*
 “ was descended ; which I shall do also in few
 “ words : *Dardānūs*, after the death of *Chryses*
 “ the daughter of *Palas*, by whom he had his
 “ two first sons, married *Batea* the daughter of
 “ *Teucus*, and by her had *Erichthonius*, who
 “ is said to have been the most fortunate of all
 “ men, having inherited both the kingdom of
 “ his father, and that of his grandfather by the
 “ mother's

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“ mother’s side: Of Erichthonius and Callir-
 “ hoë the daughter of Scamandrus was born
 “ *Tros*, from whom the nation has received its
 “ name: Of *Tros* and *Acallaris* the daughter
 “ of *Eumedes*, *Affarachus*: Of him and *Lyto-*
 “ *dora* the daughter of *Laomedon*, *Capys*: Of
 “ *Capys* and a Nymph said to have been a
 “ *Naïd*, *Anchises*: Of *Anchises* and *Venus*,
 “ *Æneas*.

Atlas king of Arcadia in Greece
 One of his daughters married Jupiter

Dardänüs
 Erichthonius
 Tros
 Affarachus
 Capys
 Anchises
 ÆNEAS.

“ Thus I have shewn that the royal family of
 “ the Trojans were originally Greeks.”——
 “ Concerning the Time when *Lavinium* was
 “ built, there are different opinions; but the
 “ most probable seems to be that, which places
 “ it in the Second year after the departure of
 “ the Trojans from *Troy*: For *Ilium* was taken
 “ at the end of the spring, seventeen days be-
 “ fore the summer solstice, and the eighth of the
 “ ending

“ ending month Thargelion, according to the
 “ computation of the Athenians, there still re-
 “ maining twenty days after the solstice to com-
 “ plete that year. The first seven and thirty
 “ days after the taking of Troy I imagine the
 “ Greeks employed in regulating the affairs of
 “ the city, in receiving embassies from those
 “ who had withdrawn themselves, and in con-
 “ cluding a treaty with them: The next year,
 “ which was the first after the taking of the
 “ city, the Trojans setting sail, about the au-
 “ tumnal equinox, crossed the Hellespont; and
 “ landing in Thrace, passed the winter season
 “ there; during which they received the fugi-
 “ tives, who were continually flocking to them,
 “ and prepared every thing that was necessary
 “ for their VOYAGE; and leaving Thrace in the
 “ beginning of the spring they sailed as far as
 “ Sicily: While they staid there that year was
 “ accomplished; and they passed the second
 “ winter in assisting the Elymi to build the
 “ cities in *Sicily*. They set sail from that island,
 “ as soon as the season would allow it; and
 “ crossing the *Tyrrhene sea*, arrived at last at
 “ *Laurentum* on the coast of the Aborigines, in
 “ the middle of the summer; and having re-
 “ ceived the ground from them they built *La-*
 “ *vinium*; the second year from the taking of
 “ Troy being now completed. And this is my
 “ opinion concerning these events.”

And this indeed seems to be the more probable
 opinion; more probable I mean than that of Vir-
 gil, from whencesoever he derived his autho-
 rity; for he has made Queen Dido, at the end
 of the First *Æneid*, desire *Æneas* to relate to
 her

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her the catastrophe of Troy, and the different adventures which had befallen himself and people, since that unfortunate disaster;

“ Yes, from the first, my royal guest rehearse *Æn. I.*

“ The Grecian frauds, she said, your friends’ distress,

“ Your own removes; —For now *the Seventh year* 759

“ Still bears you wand’ring thus round every shore and
“ sea.”

Though it is very well known that the whole course of his voyage at that time had extended no farther than *from Troy to Sicily*, and from thence, according to the poet’s own invention, to the short distance of the African coast: And it is remarkable that Ovid, following either the example of our author, or the records he consulted, has run into the same error; for in his Epistle of Dido to Æneas, v. 88, he has made that queen say,

Per mare, per terras Septima jactat hiems :

How to reconcile such difficulties is beyond the power of a commentator; and therefore it is much better to pass them over in silence, than to endeavour a reconciliation of such incompatible points of chronology: Let me however again confess that there seems to be a greater degree of probability on the side of the historian, who has made this *Seventh Year* for ever memorable by the death of Æneas himself; as we shall presently see in the conclusion of this work.

“ Æneas then, says Dionysius, having sufficiently furnished the city (of Lavinium) with
“ temples and other ornaments, of which the
“ greatest part remain even to this day, he the
“ next year, which was the third after his de-
“ parture

“ parture from Troy, reigned over the Trojans
 “ only : But the fourth year Latīnus being
 “ dead he succeeded him in his kingdom also ;
 “ not only in consideration of his near alliance
 “ to him, Lavinia being sole heiress after the
 “ death of Latīnus, but also by reason of
 “ his being general of the army in the war a-
 “ gainst their neighbours : For the Rūtūli had
 “ again revolted from Latīnus, and made choice
 “ of a *certain deserter* for their leader, who was
 “ a relation of Amāta the wife of Latīnus, and
 “ whose name was *Turnus*.”

Whether Virgil read this character of Turnus, and was a little scandalized at it, would be difficult to say ; but, in the beginning of the Twelfth Æneid, he has made Turnus nobly retort this opprobrium back again even upon his hero Æneas ; for he makes Turnus say,

Æn. XII.

“ Either I'll send this Dardan down to Tartārūs,
 “ *Asia's deserter*, (let Latines view me) 15
 “ And will alone this common pest remove ;
 “ Or let him hold us conquer'd. — — — 17

“ This man, exasperated at the father in law
 “ of Æneas, for marrying his daughter to a
 “ stranger in prejudice to his relations, and
 “ being incited by Amāta, and encouraged by
 “ others, went over to the Rūtūli with the
 “ forces he commanded.”

And Virgil introduces Amāta, consort to Latīnus, interceding thus with that king in behalf of Turnus ;

“ Must then Lavinia wed a Trojan exile, Æn. VII.
 “ Sire, nor will you pity your child, nor self ? 360
 “ Nor pity me ? whom with the first fair wind
 “ Yon

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“ Yon spoiler base, having stol’n my child, will leave:
 “ Not so the Phrygian shepherd came to Greece, 363
 “ And bore Ledæan Hēlēna to Troy.
 “ Where is your holy faith, your antient care,
 “ And troth so oft to kindred Turnus given ? 366
 “ If then a son must come from foreign realms,
 “ And that is fixt, and Faunus’ Will constrains,
 “ I hold all kingdoms foreign which are free 369
 “ From our domain ; and so the powers declare :
 “ Then Turnus springs, if his first rise be traced,
 “ From Ināchus, Acrisius, and remote Mycēnæ.” 372

But these intreaties being of no avail ; and “ the
 “ war being begun upon these complaints, and
 “ a sharp battle ensuing, Latīnus, Turnus, and
 “ many others were slain : However, Æneas
 “ and his people gained the victory :” And it
 is with this victory that Virgil concludes his
 Æneid ; for Æneas and Turnus meeting in the
 field of battle, the whole dispute is concluded
 by their engaging hand to hand, in which con-
 flict Turnus is killed, and Æneas is thus de-
 scribed in the very action of putting him to death ;

— — his sword he plunged deep in his breast Æn. XII.
 Eager ; straight are his limbs relax’d with cold, 951
 And with a groan his soul indignant fled to the shades.

But it seems that “ Æneas, having succeeded
 “ his father in law in his kingdom, did not en-
 “ joy it above three years after the death of La-
 “ tinus, for in the fourth he lost his life in a
 “ battle fought against the Rūtūli, who raising
 “ an army composed of the joint forces of all
 “ their cities, marched against him ; and with
 “ them Mezentius king of the Tyrrhenians,
 “ who thought his own country in danger ; for
 “ the great increase of the Grecian power had
 “ long

“ long since given him offence : And a severe
 “ battle being fought, not far from Lavinium,
 “ and many slain on both sides, the armies were
 “ parted by the coming on of the night ; and the
 “ body of Æneas no where appearing, some
 “ concluded that he was translated among the
 “ gods ; and others, that he perished in the
 “ river, near which the battle was fought :
 “ And the Latines built a chapel to him, with
 “ this inscription “ *To the father of this coun-*
 “ *try, who presides over the waters of the river*
 “ *Numicius* : (Virgil, perhaps not so properly,
 “ calls it The river *Numicus* : Æn. vii. 150.) But
 “ some say that this chapel was erected by Æneas
 “ to Anchises, who died the year before this
 “ war : It is a small mound, surrounded with trees
 “ regularly planted, and deserves to be seen.

“ *Æneas* having left this life, about the *Se-*
 “ *venth* year after the taking of Troy, Euryleon,
 “ who in the flight had changed his name to
 “ that of Ascanius, succeeded him in the go-
 “ vernment of the Latines.”

Since then Ascanius is the only person in this
 drama, who as yet remains undisposed of, I
 shall desire the reader's leave to conclude this
 narration with the short account that Dionysius
 has given us of him, and his reign, which
 though long, is comprised in the following con-
 cise relation.

After the battle of Lavinium, “ Ascanius re-
 “ tired with the remainder of his army into that
 “ city, where he and the Trojans were besieged,
 “ the forces of the enemy increasing daily, and
 “ the Latines were unable to assist those who
 “ were shut up in Lavinium : Ascanius there-
 “ fore first invited the enemy to a friendly and
 “ reasonable accommodation ; but they paying

“ no regard to him, he was reduced to the ne-
 “ cessity of suffering them to put an end to the
 “ war upon their own terms: But Mezentius
 “ king of the Tyrrhenians, among other in-
 “ tolerable conditions which he imposed upon
 “ them, as upon a people already become his
 “ slaves; commanding them *to carry to the Tyr-*
 “ *rhenians every year all the wine the country of*
 “ *the Latines produced*, they looked upon this
 “ as a thing not to be borne, and by the advice
 “ of Ascanius voted the fruit of the vine to be
 “ sacred to Jupiter; then exhorting one another
 “ to fight bravely, and praying the gods to assist
 “ them in their dangerous enterprise, they pitch-
 “ ed upon a dark night, and sallied out of their
 “ city; and immediately attacked that part of
 “ the enemy’s camp which lay nearest to the
 “ city, and being designed as an advanced post
 “ to cover the rest of the army was strongly
 “ situated, and defended by the choicest youth
 “ of the Tyrrhenians, who were commanded
 “ by Lausus the son of Mezentius: Their at-
 “ tack being unforeseen, they easily made them-
 “ selves masters of the place: While they were
 “ employed in taking this post, the rest of the
 “ army, that lay encamped on the plains, seeing
 “ an unseasonable light, and hearing the groans
 “ of those who were killing, left the low coun-
 “ try, and fled to the mountains: Upon this
 “ occasion there was a great hurry and tumult,
 “ their army marching away in the night, and
 “ expecting the enemy would every minute fall
 “ upon them, while they were in disorder and
 “ their ranks broken. The Latines, after
 “ they had taken the place by storm, and heard
 “ the rest of the army was in disorder, pressed
 “ upon them, killing and pursuing; while the
 “ enemy

“ enemy were so far from endeavouring to defend themselves, that it was not even possible for them to know the evils they were surrounded with; but through confusion and irresolution, some were forced down the precipices and dashed to pieces; while others, engaging themselves in unpassable vallies, were taken prisoners; but most of them through ignorance treated one another in the dark like enemies; and the greatest destruction of them was occasioned by mutual slaughter: In the mean time Mezentius with a few of his men possessed himself of a hill, and being informed of the death of his son, and of the numbers he had lost, and finding how untenable the place was in which he had shut himself up, having no other resource, he sent heralds to Lavinium to treat of a peace; and Ascanius, advising the Latines to use their fortune with moderation, he obtained liberty to retire in safety with his forces, in consequence of the treaty they concluded; and from that time laying aside all enmity to the Latines, he continued their constant friend.”

This latter part of his conduct, in some measure atones for that atrocious character under which he appears in Virgil, who stiles him

— — Mezentius, scorner of gods — — *Æn.* VIII. v. 7.

It is proper however to observe here the different accounts given us of this event by the Poet, and the Historian; the Poet makes Mezentius fall in the Battle, so early as in the 885 line of the Tenth *Æneid*; and ascribes the honour of killing him to *Æneas*,

Our

80 *The VOYAGE of ÆNEAS, &c.*

Our toils are done, my friends, now banish fear :
 What can remain ! these spoils the First Fruits are
 Of that proud king ; from our hands thus Mezentius
 comes : Æn. XI. 16.

But the Historian we see makes Mezentius not only survive that battle, but survive even Æneas himself, and form this truce with Ascanius and his people ; who from this time we are left to suppose enjoyed the fruits of this treaty, for the space of Five and Twenty years ; during which time, we know none of their transactions either in peace or war ; but at the end of this period, namely, in the *Thirtieth* year after the building of Lavinium, we find by Dionysius, that “ Ascanius the son of Æneas, “ according to the oracle given to his father, “ built another city, which he called *Alba* :”

Æn. VIII.

“ From hence, when *Thirty* years have roll'd complete,
 “ Your son shall *Alba* build of high renown. 48

The origin of which name we have already treated at large.

After this, Dionysius enters into a long detail of the images of the *Trojan Penates*, and of the *Palladium* ; all which might appear very interesting at the time he wrote ; but as *these beggarly elements*, these rags of superstition, have been long since *done away* and exploded ; let us hasten to the death of Ascanius, “ which happened in “ the Eight and Thirtieth year of his reign ; and “ Silvius his brother succeeded him.”

F I N I S.